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ABSTRACT

To inform and interconnect educational practitioners, knowledge-makers, policymakers, and the consuming public around the issues and potential of career education, the Career Education Policy Project (CEPP) collaborated with several existing programs to expose out-of-town leaders of the career education movement to the federal policymaking process. In the project year ending June 1976, the project (1) aired four well-received one-hour "Options in Education" broadcasts on career education and related themes over National Public Radio, (2) conducted two Washington Policy Seminars, (3) supervised the activities of three state-based and three city-based associates who conducted seminars and other activities for policymakers, and (4) sponsored two visits of senior Congressional and agency officials to career education sites (as well as two dinner meetings featuring nationally known experts). The activities elicited favorable reactions from participants and audiences. They demonstrated, however, that the career education movement suffers from predictable growing pains. As it gains acceptance in public educational circles and, unsurprisingly, in business and industry, it continues to cause some confusion among politicians, lay groups, and the public at large whose support is essential if it is to make a real difference in American education. The problems of definition need constant examination. The project did much for the illumination of key career education questions; much work in presenting career education's excellent case still needs doing. (The "Options" scripts are appended). (JT)

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ANNUAL EVALUATION REPORT

THE CAREER EDUCATION POLICY PROJECT (CEPP): CONNECTING EDUCATORS, POLICYMAKERS, AND THE PUBLIC

Institute for Educational Leadership

The George Washington University

September 1976

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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CE 017 723

The attached Annual Evaluation Report of the Career Education Policy Project (CEPP) of the Institute for Educational Leadership, The George Washington University, is the Project Performance Report called for by USOE (Office of Career Education) in OE Form 467,2176. It is not possible however, to respond to Item 10, Project Participants, on the form entitled "Career Education Program: Participant Summery" because CEEP's "participants" may have numbered as many as 500,000-750,000 persons who listened to one or all of CEPP's four nationally aired radio programs. There is no way that these data can be either assembled or interpreted, and the form is thus inapplicable.

CE 017 723

CAREER EDUCATION PROGRAM
PROJECT PERFORMANCE REPORTS

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Dr. Samuel Halperin (Coordinator: George R. Kaplan)

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This is the Annual Evaluation Report of the Career Education Policy Project (CEPP) of the Institute for Educational Leadership (IEL) for the year July 1, 1975-June 30, 1976.

This report does not attempt to quantify the phenomena under study. Rather, it is intended as a candid, jargon-free summary of the purposes, accomplishments and problems encountered in IEL's efforts to introduce a specific area of educational content, in this case career education, into certain processes and activities of IEL in informing and linking city, state and federal decision-makers who determine public policy in American education.

The Institute is indebted to Ms. Jane Siegel of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, an educational consultant, who observed the project throughout the year, performed the research, collected the data and prepared much of the text of this report. The ultimate responsibility for all aspects of the report rests, however, with the Career Education Policy Project.

ANNUAL EVALUATION REPORT

THE CAREER EDUCATION POLICY PROJECT (CEPP):

CONNECTING EDUCATORS, POLICYMAKERS, AND THE PUBLIC

Summary		iii
I.	CEPP: An Overview of Key Project Objectives and the Evaluation	1
	Project Objectives and Resources	2
	The Evaluation of CEPP	3
II.	Ingredients	
	A. Washington Policy Seminar	6
	B. Educational Staff Seminar	13
	C. The Associates Program	19
	D. "Options in Education"	22
III.	Where We Come Out	26
	Positive Effects	27
	Hypotheses and Hunches	29
	A Final Word	30

APPENDICES

I.	Rationale for the Evaluation of CEPP
II.	Options in Education--Press Release and Scripts
* III.	Final Reports of Associates
* IV.	Washington Policy Seminar Schedules and Report
* V.	Educational Staff Seminar Trips -- Notices and Lists of Participants

*Removed because of reproducibility problems

CEPP Annual Evaluation Report

Summary

The Career Education Policy Project (CEPP) of the Institute for Educational Leadership (IEL) of The George Washington University is a multiple-program IEL effort to orient policymakers to the significant concerns of linking education and work. Funded by the U.S. Office of Education, CEPP was designed to inform and interconnect educational practitioners, knowledge-makers, policymakers and the consuming public around the issues and potential of career education. Toward this end, CEPP collaborates with three existing IEL programs--"Options," the Educational Staff Seminar, the Associates Program--and, in addition, uses the mechanisms of the Washington Policy Seminar to expose out-of-town leaders of the career education movement to the federal policymaking process.

In the CEPP year that ended on June 30, 1976, CEPP aired four well-received one-hour broadcasts on career education and related themes over National Public Radio, conducted two Washington Policy Seminars, supervised the activities of three state-based and three city-based Associates who conducted seminars and other activities for policymakers, and sponsored two visits of senior Congressional and agency officials to career education sites (as well as two dinner meetings featuring nationally known experts).

The activities of CEPP elicited favorable reactions from participants and audiences. They demonstrated, however, that the career education movement (or crusade--the terms are used interchangeably by its leaders) suffers from predictable growing pains, at least insofar as its impact on the worlds of educational politics and public policy can be judged. As the movement gains

acceptance in public educational circles and, unsurprisingly, in business and industry, it continues to cause some confusion among politicians, lay groups, and the public at large whose support is essential if career education is to make a real difference in American education. The problems of definition, which beset the movement throughout the country, cannot be wished away. They are ubiquitous and need constant examination. Much work in presenting career education's excellent case needs doing. The current national effort still falls short.

The main message of the CEPP annual report is that career education must develop broadly based support beyond the predictably friendly worlds of public education and business. It will take time, effort, imagination and, on the part of career education's spokespersons, the capacity to accept support and criticism from quarters and in forms different from those that have been previously available. The Career Education Policy Project has offered such possibilities. Its efforts did much for the illumination of key career education questions in the year covered in this report.

ANNUAL EVALUATION REPORT

THE CAREER EDUCATION POLICY PROJECT (CEPP): CONNECTING EDUCATORS, POLICYMAKERS, AND THE PUBLIC

I. CEPP: An Overview of Key Project Objectives and the Evaluation

As the career education movement develops and matures, it continues to exhibit the qualities that marked its arrival on the educational scene in the early 1970's -- public confusion as to terms, a lack of understanding beyond the relatively limited confines of career education practitioners, vulnerability to charges of excessive vocationalism (and by extension, anti-intellectualism), and, among others, a low-priority position on the agendas of makers of public policy.

These may be a collective "bum rap", for the essential message of career education -- that the two words do not signify two life epochs or distinctive stages but, rather, a continuum focused on how an individual assumes and fills a role in society -- is almost unassailably correct. Few citizens would take issue with the notion that we should certainly think harder and know more about whether and how education should relate to work, and not just at the intersection of graduation and employment. But the linkages between these issues had been blurred or even lost until the advent of career education as a focussed effort to relate them coherently. Powerful competition from elsewhere in education and the public services had served to push such seemingly transcendent matters as what a child can or should do in later life into characterless limbo.

The Institute for Educational Leadership of The George WAshington University felt that these issues required consideration, not among educators alone, but, even more importantly, in the larger political and public worlds where decisions

are made, often with the sketchiest possible data, that affect the personal futures of millions of American children. Given the Institute's mission and history of promoting better educational policy by bringing together policy-makers and educators to explore and illuminate educational and social issues, the mobilization of certain IEL resources and techniques in the area of career education appeared to be a worthwhile endeavor. Thus, the Career Education Policy Project (CEPP) was developed to reach political and educational policymakers with the issues and responses of career education. The main messages of this report are that the quest has been worthwhile but that career education has a very long way to go in enlisting and assuring the support of the individuals, forces and organizations that most decisively affect public policy in education.

Project Objectives and Resources

The CEPP effort was designed to "help communicate career education philosophy, methods, program activities, and evaluatjon results to career education practitioners and to the general public". The project's twofold purpose has been to:

--Illuminate the issues of education and work at the critical points at which public policies and major implementing decisions are made in our political and governmental institutions; and

--Examine career education in a way that will effectively inform both public and policy-level opinion of this feature of American education.

To translate these objectives into an operational framework tailored to its perception of the needs of the career education movement, IEL designed and proposed a project that would tap into three sets of IEL activities or components already in place -- Educational Staff Seminar (ESS), The Associates Program

(TAP), and "Options in Education" -- and a then new but subsequently firmly established one, the Washington Policy Seminar.*

Although these were the bricks of CEPP's programmatic structure, other more subtle, less structured features of the project were to exert a profound effect. As a member of the strong, nationally respected family of IEL programs, CEPP could and, the Institute believes, did, achieve instant credibility, a factor that could only have benefitted the career education cause. The project was thus automatically introduced into IEL's world of politics, policy, the general public and the media in ways not traditionally available to most educational movements. Less obvious, but ultimately quite telling in any description of CEPP's first year, was the availability to CEPP of the in-house expertise of the permanent IEL staff, an especially gifted group of individuals with experience as Congressional aides, senior government officials, national association representatives, social scientists, and media experts.

The Evaluation of CEPP

The funded CEPP proposal stated that the Institute "is under constant self-evaluation in an effort to improve the adult learning and network-building services it provides to educational policymakers." Thus, solicitation and acceptance of critical feedback from staff, affiliates, clients and the general public has been an inherent part of the CEPP effort. The proposal indicated that ongoing evaluation activity would culminate in an annual assessment report. This document was to summarize and analyze the data gathered and to describe in jargon-free terms the experiences of the first year of the project's life.

*A fifth, Educational Policy Fellowships in Career Education, which would have placed promising mid-career educators in positions at or near where educational policy is made, was rejected by USOE, and the project was funded to focus on the four mentioned here.

From the outset, the CEPP evaluation design has empahsized regular documentation of activities, measurement of participants' perceptions, objective observation and disciplined analyses of all these data, in an attempt to yield useful feedback data for improving the project. Given the nature of CEPP, extensive quantitative data analysis or definitive conclusions about causal relationships seemed unfeasible and inadvisable, since this kind of scientific measurement could easily distort or totally overlook the social and political phenomena which were to characterize the project.

Specific assessment activities undertaken for the four major CEPP components included:

1. Washington Policy Seminar

   --Analysis of participant reactions
   --Reports by non-participating observers
   --Summary reports of each WPS

2. Educational Staff Seminar

   --Participation rates and professional levels of participants
   --Reports by participants to their agencies and Congress
   --Participant and presentor ratings

3. State and Local Policymaking Forums (TAP)

   --Participant ratings
   --Periodic reviews, including site visitation by TAP and CEPP coordinators
   --Self-assessment, including meetings of TAP-CEPP personnel
   --Site reports summarizing specific TAP-CEPP efforts

4. "Options in Education"

   --Unsolicited listener mail
   --Promotion by National Public Radio (NPR) and listener reaction
   --Documentation of transcript and cassette requests/sales

The information collected and the analysis of it have yielded extensive evidence of CEPP accomplishments, strengths, and shortcomings. The bulk of this report is a descriptive summary of the achievements realized for each

project component as well as a candid analysis of the data about CEPP and, in the context of its impact on CEPP, the Institute for Educational Leadership.

II. Ingredients

The various elements of the CEPP undertaking were activated slowly, for reasons far beyond its control. The Institute nevertheless moved immediately to introduce the new project as a whole into its existing networks of educational and political decisionmakers at federal, state, local and public (National Public Radio) levels. But there was no way to introduce CEPP, and therefore career education, into these settings and activities without careful and time-consuming ground-breaking, negotiation and downright friendly persuasion. None of this could be initiated until notification of award of the USOE grant, an action that occurred in late June, 1975. It can be fairly stated that, although much solid preparation was done from the moment funding was assured, CEPP only began to move visibly in late October and early November, 1975 and did not approach full speed until January, 1976. It is important to acknowledge, with all of the implications of the commentary, that all but an insignificant portion of CEPP's visible activity took place in a period of six or, at most, seven months.

The proposal had promised that IEL-CEPP would consult closely with the funding agency, the Office of Career Education of the U.S. Office of Education, wherever feasible and appropriate, and this occurred, notably in the Project's early months. Suggestions were solicited on such matters as: participants for the WPS activities, site selection for ESS field trips, determination of TAP locales, and consideration of topics for "Options" broadcasts. Those working on CEPP at the Institute weighed the OCE suggestions with care, adopting some in toto while modifying others, and proceeded to implement the project. Relations between OCE and the project were both mature and harmonious. Although the Institute could not advocate a specific ideological viewpoint on career

education -- indeed, some of the CEPP participants strongly opposed that espoused by USOE -- it did reflect many of OCE's concerns in a variety of ways. To the credit of OCE, its project monitor respected IEL's neutrality and never sought to impose a "party line" on CEPP.

Less easy to categorize as an element of the first CEPP year was career education's chronic definitional problem, especially in the political and public policy settings in which the project functioned. The report will return to this issue in a different context. Suffice to say here that the label often confused public and educational decisionmakers and that it somehow, almost inexplicably, alienated many of CEPP's participants.

What follows is a four-part description of the operations, problems, and successes and failures of the four main elements of the project.

A. Washington Policy Seminar (WPS)

An IEL report on the Washington Policy Seminar of January, 1976, observed:

> The operations and policy processes of the Federal Government and the Congress are similar in kind to but vastly different in scale from those of state and local governments. Washington seems remote from the day-to-day concerns of people who operate educational programs. With its multiplicity of layers and players, the Federal Government dwarfs all others in the American system in terms of size, complexity, and the amount of money spent. But much too little is known about it by the nation's educational leaders whose professional causes and destinies are coming increasingly to be affected by it.

It may be a fair observation that, of the leaders who know "too little", those in career education are among the most deserving. Or, to put it another

way, they are by and large "innocents abroad" in a federal policy system that will have much to do with and say about the future of the career education movement. One way of closing the information gap was to bring the educators into contact with the federal world. The Institute, through CEPP, thus committed itself to designing and conducting two intensive three and one-half day Washington Policy Seminars (January 13-16 and May 18-21, 1976) that would familiarize career educators with the complexities of the Washington scene, how it works, and who makes it work.

The human resources of the Washington Policy Seminar were the persons who themselves make or influence federal educational policy: Members of Congress and their staffs, ranking decisionmakers from U.S. Government agencies, officials of the Executive Office of the President, key representatives of interest groups and educational associations, seasoned "Washington watchers," and educational journalists. Although a typical Washington Policy Seminar includes nationally-known speakers, the major criterion for their presence is not "name" but the extent to which their abilities and outlooks affect national policy.

Each Seminar features panels, training sessions, on-site workshops, and meal-time discussions. The Washington experts offered a panoramic perspective of policymaking processes, took candid -- and often controversial -- stands on critical educational issues, and exchanged analytical perceptions with participants.

The three main elements of the WPS have generally been:

An Overview of Educational Policymaking in Washington --
Which included an opening dinner meeting and a morning-after panel discussion with discriminating analysts and veterans of the Washington arena, who provided a clear picture of the issues, institutions, personalities and basic focus of the federal education policy scene.

Executive Branch Perspectives -- Three or four panels portrayed how policy is made or executed at key points within the far-flung Executive Branch structure. Analyses of the policy prerogatives of the President and explanations of how potential legislative issues are processed within the federal government were provided by present or former senior officials of the Office of Management and Budget, HEW, and OE.

Lobbying in the Nation's Capital -- The increasingly active and influential corner of the federal policymaking triangle known as representing special interests -- or lobbying -- occupied an important segment of the Washington Policy Seminar. Leaders of such organizations as the National Education Association, American Federation of Teachers, American Vocational Association, AFL-CIO, American Council on Education, Council of Great City Schools, American Association of School Administrators, National School Boards Association, and others of similar stature described how internal policy decisions are reached and the methods employed to bring Members of Congress and the Executive Branch to appropriate support. Members of the Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs also explained the problems and the processes of uniting diverse educational interests to work for the common goal of maximum appropriations for education.

The IEL report on the January Seminar commented on some of the visible effects of this activity:

> The seminarists, a talented and attentive group of leaders in their growing movement, were exposed to a variety of points of view, differing political perspectives, the bureaucracy, the Congress, lobbying, personalities, and current and future trends in the federal role in education.

> Some of them learned new phrases, concepts and organizations -- uncontrollable and controllable expenditures, rescissions and deferrals, OMB, the Congressional Budget Office, and so forth.
>
> In turn, the career educators from local school districts, state education agencies, and higher education institutions provided a fresh perspective for the speakers and panelists, who have important roles in shaping educational policy at the federal level. Understanding and information flowed both ways.

Based on the participant's written assessments of the May Seminar and other documents, it appears that this group had a similar experience to that of the first crew. There were a few changes in topics and speakers, based on the feedback provided in the earlier assessments of the WPS-CEPP effort. Also, the second group included fewer career educators (20-22) and eight Ford Fellows in Educational Journalism (from major media outlets including, among others, the U.S. News and World Report, Milwaukee Journal, the Lousiville Courier Journal and the Baltimore Sun), some of their editors, and several Ford Foundation officials. The mix added richness and depth to the Seminar and brought the career educators, usually for the first time, into contact with the media.

The participants' evaluations of each of the WPS efforts were overwhelmingly positive. Without exception, all those who assessed the WPS-CEPP sessions rated them as very useful learning experiences. The primary lessons the groups indicated they had learned from the seminars included:

- Where and how to tell one's message most effectively
- Insights into the ways policymakers perceive appropriations and policy directions in the next few years
- The importance of relaying messages to policymakers

- How the Washington political process works and doesn't work
- How special interest groups work
- The beginnings of understanding of the interactive process of policy-making and its complexities
- An understanding of more effective ways of penetrating the system
- The very heavy but easily underrated impact of the Office of Management and Budget in the policymaking process

Of the 15-odd major panels or other activities provided by IEL for each of the WPS-CEPP groups, the most informative and enjoyable sessions and speakers, according to participants were: (1) "The Congressional Appropriations Process", Harley Dirks; (2) "How USOE Makes and Implements Federal Educational Policy", Albert Alford and Cora Beebe; and (3) "Working with Capitol Hill...", William Cable and Jack Jennings. Two other popular presentations were "How Educational Policy Decisions Are Made in Washington...", in which Michael Timpane provided an introductory overview, and "Congress Views the Federal Education Role", by Hon. Patsy Mink. While participants were asked to and did indicate the least useful sessions too, very few suggested elimination of any of the topics or speakers. There were sparse, but precise, negative comments about the utility, or lack of it, of some of the information provided to participants and toward the attitudes of the few speakers who were seen as defensive, boring, or prone to present unsubstantiated or opinionated views.

Two additions for future WPS-CEPP efforts were suggested. First, many participants mentioned the increased role of the judiciary in educational policy-making and suggested that a session with representatives of that branch of the federal system be provided. The second set of comments was a plea for more formal and informal presentations by Samuel Halperin and George Kaplan of IEL.

Several participants expressed the view that increased sharing of insights and interpretations of the program as it progressed by those two seasoned Washingtonians would be valuable and a welcome improvement of the WPS-CEPP design.

The Office of Career Education was deeply interested in both the design and the effect of WPS. In fact, the career educator participants were nominated by the Director of OCE for both seminars, he participated at several points in the processes, and many of the participants maintained regular contact with OCE. The only formal OCE presentation, an afternoon session during the January Seminar, quickly became what one participant described as a "revival meeting" in which the Seminarists were exhorted to mobilize political support for Congressional action in behalf of career education. This segment, which received low marks from the participants, interrupted the flow and pace of the WPS but it did not ultimately harm it, although the Institute's "neutrality" would surely have been affected had the performance continued.

Overall, participants in both Seminars approved of the format of the sessions and indicated that the length and intensity of the whole Seminar and of its individual parts were "just right". A few individuals did indicate a preference for additional days in which to apply and test their newly gained information before completing the Seminars. A small number recommended a slight increase in the amount of time scheduled for evaluation of their WPS-CEPP experiences.

To truly capture a sense of the participants' assessment of their WPS-CEPP learning experiences, the following small sample of comments is provided:

...I want to express my thanks to you for the very effective role that you've played in putting together the Washington Policy Seminar in Career Education. I know that that meeting had a greater impact on my professional life than any other professional meeting or activity that I've had an opportunity to participate in.

...I personally hope that you will be able to continue this activity for a number of years. I believe that it will help many educators to be more effective in the political arena.

...An excellent seminar
1. Well planned
2. Well timed
3. Excellent participants
4. Excellent topics
5. Excellent speakers

Where do we go from here: What's next?

...I feel that you have provided me with a strong base upon which I can add new knowledge concerning Educational Policymaking in Washington.

A comment from the Supervisor of Career Education from the Los Angeles school system sums up the typical reactions of participants in the WPS-CEPP experiences:

More educators should be exposed to this seminar in order to improve communication with legislators. The event was a "hands-on" political science survey that will serve me immeasurably now and in the future.

II. B. Educational Staff Seminar (ESS)

The Educational Staff Seminar consists of a set of learning experiences designed to expand the knowledge of key national policymakers and advisors about the content and potential of significant educational programs. Its underlying -- and unassailable -- assumption is that better information will yield better policy. For Washington's educational policymakers, whose combined efforts produce laws and programs involving the dispensation of upwards of $10 billion

for educational activities, the need for good data and a sense of the educational universe are imperative. The ESS mission is to help to provide both.

The CEPP grant called for two three-day trips, arranged and implemented by IEL's ESS staff, for senior Congressional aides and Executive Branch officials to locales where significant career education programs could be viewed. Two additional seminars in Washington, D.C. were provided on career education topics at no charge to the CEPP grant.

The ESS field trips occurred in February and April, 1976, when groups of 25-30 officials traveled to Washington and Alabama, respectively, to see career education in action in the schools, colleges, industries, and neighborhoods of the two states. The trips drew an excellent response, and participants and hosts alike indicated they benefited greatly from their first-hand exposure to career education on the scene. The visit to Washington was organized by the Career Education Section of the Office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction (SPI), which aids school districts throughout the state to design and implement their own career education projects. The ESS group saw urban, suburban and rural communities undertaking a variety of career education efforts, some with federal support and others using local funds. The project involved students in grades K-12 and ranged from a program for gifted and talented youths to a project to interest business, labor and the professions in supporting career education projects.

Again, as in the case of the Washington Policy Seminar, the Office of Career Education was actively involved. For the ESS component, it selected field trip sites and suggested activities within the locales chosen. Whether these were the ideal locales for policymakers to visit is debatable. They did

offer diversity and several glimpses (and, occasionally, more) at career education, but both were heavily freighted with extraneous diversions and concerns. To some participants, it seemed that the selections reflected OCE's political relationships with people and institutions in or affecting these places (as well as OCE's understandable desire to play to politically influential forces at the national level) rather than a concern for exposure of decisionmakers to the best concentrations of career education projects in the nation. Also, OCE displayed considerable interest in and offered concrete advice regarding the composition of each entourage of the officials making the trips. The CEPP-ESS field experiences were, therefore, atypical of IEL-ESS efforts in that the Institute's adherence to a neutral role was at least challenged. Staff members of ESS indicated, too, that the several ESS trips of recent years that looked into career education had been more effective than those sponsored by CEPP because: 1) the quality of the efforts visited was outstanding; 2) an in-depth examination of a few projects vs. a cursory look at several was arranged; 3) a clearer and more acceptable definition of the concept of career education had emerged from the observations and dialogue of participants and those visited; and 4) the visits were almost entirely free of the protocol, speeches and politicking engaged in by some career educators.

The assessment of the participants in the first CEPP-ESS field trip -- to Seattle and Cashmere, Washington -- was nevertheless positive. The group's evaluative responses are typified by one participant's comment that: "the overall program was definitely worthwhile. It cannot but sharpen one's perception of an issue to be thrown together with such competent, enthusiastic and articulate persons as were encountered throughout this field trip." While the ESS group recognized the necessity of visiting many classrooms and attending

large formal presentations, most participants valued the informal interactions with students and school staff as the most worthwhile aspect of the trip. The main complaints registered by the participants related to the group's expressed desire that future trips allow for more time in the field and less food. An illustration of the intense involvement and interest in the Washington state career education experience is the suggestion of one participant to "skip lunch and make more visits."

For many officials in the group, the CEPP-ESS field trip constituted their sole "hands-on" exposure to career education programs and they stated varied, but equally important, effects of the experience on their perceptions of career education including:

- Enhancement of their understanding of the concept
- New awareness of the effectiveness of the career education concept in motivating school personnel, students, and citizens' groups to work together in a respectful and enthusiastic manner
- Recognition of the impact of career education in building the self-confidence of children by stressing the skills they do have

The overall benefits of the Washington ESS field trip were ably summarized by one official, who listed them as follows:

1. Receiving a comprehensive view of the necessary commitment, from the Chief State School Officer, to the student in the classroom, to guarantee success in massive curricular reform.
2. The straightforward and unimpeded opportunity provided to discuss career education and its implementation with all levels of the educational structure demonstrated that informal education and public information activities must be planned in tandem with major instructional reform.
3. The relatively small additional financial commitment required to install major curriculum reform on a rather extensive basis.
4. The surprising degree to which all segments of the school community rallied around the career education concept with a kind of mutual interest in adapting an education reform to the community.

The second CEPP-ESS field trip, to Alabama in April, was organized by the Career Education Coordinator of the State Department of Education and involved visits to elementary and secondary schools, colleges and universities as well as sessions with business and community leaders in both urban and rural settings. Some of the projects visited focused on individuals and the economic system's effect on the careers and lives of these and all people, while other career education programs were limited to specific skill areas such as fashion design.

Candid assessments of their field experience by the ESS group ranged from strongly positive to slightly negative. The majority of the federal officials who visited Alabama clearly appreciated the "hands-on" nature of the trip, and one participant's comment was representative of the group when he stated:

> As you know from your own experience in the Office of Education, federal officials charged with the leadership of education programs have limited exposure to daily implementation and administration of the programs at the local level. Our observations in the elementary, secondary, and post-secondary schools of Alabama, therefore, provided us with a unique opportunity to perceive the career education delivery system first-hand. This type of opportunity afforded us an unquestionably useful learning experience.

The ESS participants were most positive about the school and university visits and their private conversations with responsible individuals such as teachers, deans, state department officials, Chamber of Commerce members, and Governor Wallace himself. Many of them expressed concern, however, over the lack of definition of career education amongst themselves and the people they met in Alabama. Group members indicated that this lack of clarity -- of what is and is not career education -- made it difficult for them to undergo any real change in their perceptions of career education. Some participants stated that the distinctions between vocational education and career education

continued to be unclear. Concern also was expressed about the recurrent problem of sex-role stereotyping seen in curriculum materials and classroom activities in career education projects.

Additional participant feedback often addressed two logistical matters. The first, a lack of adequate time spent in learning experiences vs. time spent in transit and the "crowded" agenda of the field trip, was mentioned by most of the group, and some suggested modification of future schedules to allow for more time to examine fewer activities in greater depth. The second, entirely positive, was the unanimous gratitude for the exceptional hospitality shown by Alabamans and the meticulous planning and coordination of the program by the Alabama Career Education Coordinator.

Finally, an unanticipated, serendipitous side effect was realized in the field, according to an Alabama official:

> This visit by Washington officials did more for our state than we could ever hope to do for you people in Washington. I have tried for three years to get all the top business and industrial leaders together and had failed because they were too busy, but with the purpose of welcoming our ESS participants to the state they were all eager to be invited.
>
> ...It was a chance for the Alabama participants to welcome visitors to our state while we indoctrinated them on the worth of Career Education and what was being done in Alabama schools. It also gave me a chance to get our top politicians to talk with business/labor/industry and education about career education.

Although the CEPP grant did not support training events and sessions in Washington, D.C. for federal employees and Congressional staff members, CEPP and ESS at no charge to the grant co-sponsored dinner meetings of 55-70 senior officials each, at which Professor James O'Toole (author of Work in America and The Reserve Army of the Underemployed) and former U.S. Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz (author of The Bondless Resource), respectively, were the featured speakers.

II. C. The Associates Program (TAP)

The Associates Program (TAP) of IEL is a network of state educational seminars developed to provide neutral forums for key policymakers such as legislators, governors' policy aides, chief state school officers, mayors, state and local school board members, and school district administrators, among others, to become informed about important national, state and local educational issues. To perform similar functions for the state-based segment of CEPP, in which small groups of policymakers would be convened to air the issues of and surrounding career education periodically during the year, IEL solicited suggestions from knowledgeable sources, including OCE, the National Association of State Boards of Education, and others to identify those states where a combination of a propitious environment and good leadership could yield real dividends. The three states selected -- each with a state board member or chairperson as Associate -- were Vermont, Indiana, and South Dakota. In each case, the Associate was selected especially for his/her ability to secure active participation of key decisionmakers in the seminars and other informational activities planned for this feature of CEPP. In a departure from previous TAP practice, CEPP sponsored Seminars in three major cities: Los Angeles, Albuquerque, and Birmingham.

These Career Education Associates developed and implemented distinctive programs in their sites. A capsule description of some of these efforts, based on Associates' accounts and participant comments, follows to illustrate the range of activities that occurred in the CEPP component.

In South Dakota, where State Board Chairperson Judith Olson was the Associate, six Seminars involving more than 100 participants were conducted from November,

1975, through June, 1976. Although they differed in tone and flavor, and were held in different parts of the state, all involved the same format of a relaxed evening of informal socializing, an informal career education expert as speaker or discussion leader, and extensive dialogue. According to Ms. Olson:

> Career education was an enigma to many who participated in the Seminars. The philosophy and concept of career education, and its position in academia could not always be agreed upon...for those who viewed an invitation to South Dakota's IEL seminar as an enigma, the puzzle was quickly solved...the rapport immediately established at a seminar through open discussion and the genuine desire to communicate differences resulted in productive and enthusiastic interest and trust.

The audience for these Seminars included the key state officials, journalists, educators, legislators, state board members, and representatives of the business and professional organizations throughout the state.

The Seminars in Vermont, which were directed by State Board Chairperson Joan Hoff and placed throughout the state, began in February and culminated, nine mid-day meetings later in a Career Education Fair, in Montpelier. Participants included legislators, representatives of business and various occupations, educators, and leaders in each community. For each luncheon, two state Department of Education consultants gave an overview of career education and described some exemplary projects in Vermont schools. These presentations were followed by frank discussions which "...seemed to bring out an underlying feeling of frustration that our schooling was not effective for many young people." The guests, however, "in all instances seemed willing to assist in the implementation of Career Education in a K through 12 educational system" to begin to solve the problem of the meaninglessness of formal education for many youths.

While the long-range effects of this feature of CEPP may prove to be impressive, the TAP element of the overall effort was the most time-consuming and

required about nine months of ground work before results began to be seen. Assessment of this project component, as noted before, was based on levels of attendance and the kind of attendees drawn to the programs as well as detailed descriptive reports from each of the Associates and other documentation. In all sites, except Indiana (where the press of the Associate's regular work and the limitations imposed by geography forced the state effort to conclude before the end of the CEPP year), Seminars held equaled or exceeded the grant requirements and initial plans, and the number of participating key policymakers was very high. Evidence of strong support for TAP activity was seen in Los Angeles in April, when the Mayor along with the head of the Chamber of Commerce and the Superintendent of Schools issued personal invitations to some 22 policymakers and representatives of the business community for a CEPP/TAP meeting which stated in part:

> As a leader in the Los Angeles community, you are able to contribute significantly to our understanding of the current status of career education in Los Angeles, to clarify the roles and responsibilities that reasonably can be expected of institutions in this community as the implementation of career education continues, and to cooperatively formulate a series of policy recommendations that will have a positive impact on the future of our community.

The Associates' report from Birmingham also noted overall satisfaction with project outcomes as follows: "...the six seminars engaged in by the Birmingham group were successful. They accomplished their prime objective offering a forum for an open and free exploration of career education by educational leaders and policymakers alike." A single area of concern mentioned in Birmingham which was also a factor in Albuguerque was that very few non-educators attended regularly. Although there were enough participants to engage in interesting discussions, it seemed in both urban (as opposed to the state) locales that

career education was regarded strictly as an educational issue.

While less participant reaction was available for analysis of this component, a random comment recorded at a South Dakota TAP Wrap-Up Seminar in June serves to summarize the impressions expressed in site reports of the Associates and feedback they received from seminar participants too:

> You got the concept out into the public. It has been highly confused with vocational school. It is not a separate new thing that teachers have to go through. It can be incorporated into the classroom.....Through these seminars, people were able to speak freely -- people wanted to come around two or three times.....There is a better understanding of what it is all about.

Finally, it may be important to consider the fact that the Associates in two sites who did exceptional jobs for CEPP were both women, who apart from managing their households, have no full-time employment and are members of their respective State Boards of Education. These factors may have contributed to their outstanding performances.

II. D. "Options in Education"

The Institute, working in conjunction with National Public Radio (NPR) coproduces "Options in Education", a one-hour weekly national radio program over most of NPR's 180-plus member stations, to bring important information and issues in American education to the attention of the public and to stimulate discussion and dialogue by the listening audience.

The initial IEL proposal called for a three-year effort with a four-part radio series on career education-related themes each year. Thus, the "Options" broadcasts were an introductory and prefatory examination of the relationship between schooling and jobs. The four-part series entitled "Can You Get There

From Here?" was aired in January, 1976, and triggered an immediate burst of national interest.

At the outset, CEPP/NPR staff sought and received useful advice from OCE officials on potential topics for inclusion in the series. Much of this advice was followed and the four one-hour programs featured these topics and speakers:

- Underemployment - The disturbing phenomenon that people work in jobs far less demanding than their intelligence or education requires was discussed in depth by James O'Toole, author of the acclaimed "Work in America," whose comments were interspersed with interviews of college students expressing their career expectations and recent college graduates now underemployed as mail clerks.

- Unemployment and Underemployment - Americans without work or in socalled "dead-end" jobs were described, and attention was focused largely by anthropologist Elliot Liebow, on the effects of schools in tracking people into "dead-end" employment and the extent to which sex, age, race, or social class affect job selection.

- Alternatives Outside of Formal Schooling - William Harwood called for schools which concentrate on general liberal education to develop "a whole person" rather than on training of workers. Willard Wirtz urged that local people be helped to devise work-education programs which would eliminate tracking of youth and wastage of resources now spent in training youth for non-existent jobs.

- Career Education - The effectiveness of current career education and guidance programs in several states was described by teachers and counselors who are working to increase the awareness of career opportunities and work responsibilities among young people. Paul Barton of the National Manpower Institute and Walter Davis of the AFL-CIO discussed the realities of the work place and the need to involve employers, unions and the public sector in programs for the transition from school to work.

In the aggregate, these broadcasts were not specifically about career education as defined by OCE nor were they designed to serve the technical information needs of career education practitioners. Neither CEPP nor the "Options" staff felt that the airing of technical issues, such as exemplary or

TABLE I

Some "Options" Data*

GEOGRAPHICAL REGION	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Far West	11
South West	9
Central	17
North East	15
East	3
South East	10
TOTAL	65

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	
High School Graduate	4
College/University Graduate	47
Post-Graduate Degree	14
TOTAL	65

SEX	
Male	47
Female	22
TOTAL	69

DID YOU PLAN OR TRAIN FOR THE JOB YOU NOW HOLD?	
Yes	19
No	39
TOTAL	58

*Based on an analysis of approximately 70 letters out of some 2500 received by NPR-IEL.

"how to" expositions on career education programs for physically handicapped, gifted or bilingual children, was appropriate for the public listening audience. The Institute had not committed itself to convey such material to practitioners in the field. Rather, it proposed and did produce a series to introduce the public to a complex set of issues of which a sometimes fuzzy concept called career education was destined to become an important feature. Based on the listening audience's response, it appears that this aim was achieved.

A primary form of data for evaluation of NPR broadcasts has been the listener mail, gauged as to both quantity and quality, received by NPR and individual stations. Thus, the fact that the OCE-funded four-part series produced more listener mail than any programs in NPR's five-year history to that time is a strongly positive measure of the public's interest in and the effectiveness of these broadcasts. The listening audience wrote to share its career choices and candid concerns about the transition from formal education to the world of work. In thoughtful, reasoned letters individuals indicated that they enjoyed these weekly "electronic magazines". Table 1 displays an analysis of a small sample of more than 2,500 listener letters received by NPR. Most of those who wrote in requested a transcript of the broadcasts and also responded to the question, "When you were in school, did you plan or train for the job you now hold?" Also, many requests (approximately 400) for cassette recordings of the programs were ordered by listeners (at a cost of $4.00/program or $12.00 for the series of four). Requests for information about the series were still being received by NPR in late May, although programs first became available in January. Indications from correspondence were that transcripts and cassettes are being used in high schools and colleges throughout the country.

Additionally, an informal telephone survey to measure listener reactions to the series was conducted by the Institute. Arrangements were made for a

select group of individuals (educators, parents, students and others) to listen to the four programs on eight NPR stations across the nation. (Massachusetts, Florida, Michigan, New Mexico, New York, Ohio, Oregon and Washington, D.C.) These people were called after each broadcast and asked to answer some questions about the overall impact of the program, the quality of the content and presenters, and subject matter. This group was about 50-50 male/female, with an age range of 28 to 50 years. More than half (57 percent) were parents, and 85 percent had four or more years of higher education.

The reactions of these people to questions about the content and quality of the four programs was to rate them generally as "good" or above average. Responses varied from "excellent, germane, and useful" to "boring...the interviews rambled." All those called were able to specify people, facts, or ideas that they were exposed to and affected by in listening to the broadcasts. Almost all of these listeners noted Willard Wirtz as an effective contributor to the quality of the programs, and several mentioned that they felt better informed about career education. (The one potential source of evaluative feedback that did not react to "Options" during the broadcast season was the Office of Career Education, and there had been no comment from OCE at the time of this writing (July, 1976). The "Options" component was eliminated, moreover, from the overall CEPP effort for the project's second year.)

In toto, the data available about this NPR-IEL series suggest that the listening audience found these broadcasts to be useful and felt a need for more attention to, and information about, the issues of education's relationship to work. This small sample of listener comments is illustrative:

* At times I despair of ever seeing our educational problems alleviated, but I'm heartened by efforts such as those of your program to air issues and keep the public informed.

* ...very informative show about jobs and schooling. I plan to discuss this topic in my Junior High Social Studies Class.

* Your series "Options in Education" has expanded my awareness of our society, and has stimulated much thought and discussion among my friends. I would appreciate a transcript of the series as I hope it will be valuable as a reference for research and future discussions.

III. Where We Come Out

There is a large element of subjectivity in this report, both because the role of the evaluator of CEPP was defined as going beyond the "objective" collection and interpretation of available data and, to put it bluntly, objective data on political and policy-oriented phenomena are not entirely reliable. It was presumed that the application of past experience and intuition in interpreting what was seen and heard would be essential to the preparation of a comprehensive and relevant report containing useful explanations of project developments and intelligent judgments about CEPP performance. Therefore, those expecting findings in this section to be based on an objective, traditional evaluation effort using research methodology will be disappointed.

The principal evaluator of CEPP attempted to learn about and convey, through this report, a clear picture of the evolution of a unique undertaking and to pinpoint factors which contributed to the project's overall performance, as well as areas of concern or problems to be addressed in future efforts. Although some of the data are "hard", much of the content here is based on careful probing and interpretation of the accounts of the IEL and CEPP staff and participants in CEPP activities. The judgments and recommendations offered

here, while not definitive, may thus be regarded as reasonable hypotheses of hunches which will stand up before further verification.

Positive Effects:

It is clear that the Career Education Policy Project has accomplished its major objectives and exceeded grant requirements, both as to scope of work and funds expended. (The financial report of the project will document the heavy support provided by IEL at no cost to the project).

Two Washington Policy Seminars and two Educational Staff Seminars were held, well attended and assessed as valuable by participants. Two in-service dinner meetings were provided by IEL for CEPP to fill a need the Institute's staff perceived, but OCE did not support. The Associates Program was implemented and surpassed expectations in three of six sites (South Dakota, Vermont, and Los Angeles); met them in two others (Birmingham and Albuquerque); and was discontinued in one site (Indiana). The fourth element, "Options in Education," received voluminous positive reactions to its effort from an astonishingly reactive audience.

The data show that some 1,000 key federal, state and city officials from executive and legislative branches were exposed to information about career education through use of the Institute for Educational Leadership's time-tested processes. Additionally, thousands of people in the listening audience of NPR have been introduced to some of the issues and reminded of the importance of addressing the connections (or lack of them) of education to work. All this was accomplished in twelve months with approximately $140,000 of support from OCE and additional in kind or actual IEL contributions which added as much as the equivalent of 50 percent more.

Some of the special factors or conditions which influenced or caused CEPP to succeed in these tasks have been detailed previously within the appropriate component sections of the report. They include:

* The extensive and effective IEL network of educators and politicians;
* The exceptional skill and professional/political contacts of several of the Associates selected for TAP-CEPP; and
* The pervasive and positive stance toward self-evaluation and evaluation by others of major project activities.

It appears, however, that at least two other forces have affected and contributed most to the success of the CEPP effort. Foremost was the unique competence and commitment of all IEL personnel to the project. From the donation of at least six weeks of his valuable time (at no cost to the grant) during the year by IEL's Director, Dr. Halperin, to the energetic and effective work performed on a part-time basis by the CEPP Coordinator, to the cooperation of the various IEL program heads, CEPP appears to have had great staff resources at an exceptionally small cost to the sponsoring agency. Indeed, it had no full-time help. Further, there was minimal evidence of slippage in attainment of project goals in spite of the fact that CEPP had no full-time staff assigned.

The second aspect of the Institute's operation, mentioned previously, which appears to have contributed greatly to the implementation of CEPP was the flexibility and ability to "escape from the strictures of federal grants," as Dr. Halperin put it. This expenditure of other sources of support was considered to be essential in the view of IEL personnel to the conduct of the various in-service learning experiences provided in the course of the CEPP effort. The participants' assessments clearly noted the effects of IEL's hospitality and of the productive environment which resulted from these provisions.

Finally, it seems appropriate to mention the effects of the Career Education Policy Project on the Institute. There is ample evidence that CEPP did provide IEL staff with a new experience -- using multiple Institute approaches including WPS, ESS, TAP, and "Options" to address one program in a coordinated targeted effort -- which loosed synergistic forces within IEL. There was, according to IEL staff, an increase in communication and professional interaction, especially for ESS and TAP, as CEPP was implemented.

Hypotheses and Hunches

Based on IEL's experience during the first year of the Career Education Policy Project, there are two aspects of the effort which bear further attention and seem important not only to the success of CEPP, but to many other career education projects and, indeed, to the career education movement as a whole. The first and more generic problem is the definitional one. The data show that the OCE definition of the career education concept seemed to confuse, frustrate, and even bore many of the politicians and business representatives who participated in CEPP activities. Political decisionmakers expressed a strong need to consider the broader relationship of education to employability -- they wanted to deal with the economic and welfare aspects of this reform movement -- not to devote too much time to how career education gets infused to children in the primary grades. Also, many participants in ESS and TAP activities indicated that the career educators they encountered could not adequately clarify the differences between vocational education and career education. Perhaps the most damaging commentary which underscores the need for OCE attention to this matter was offered by some ESS participants who, when asked whether the field experience affected their perceptions of career education and in what ways, stated that their perceptions or attitudes could not be changed until they understand what career education is and is not.

It seems clear that OCE, not IEL, needs to address this definitional problem and, to the extent that the career education officials can supply the Institute's staff with more distinct and cogent information, the impact of CEPP and other career education projects may be increased.

The second matter involved IEL's unique role in airing the issues and gaining consideration of career education by policymakers. It appears that some OCE officials had unmet expectations related to a misunderstanding of IEL's role and hoped Institute staff would be visible as endorsers or advocates of career education rather than as neutral catalysts. IEL staff saw their activities centering around airing of issues and gaining the attention of policymakers to consider a stance about career education. The Institute, however, did not claim to advocate career education nor has it found a forward, "lobbying" approach to be effective in gaining serious decisionmakers' support for particular educational programs. This is not its mission or style.

A Final Word

The CEPP endeavor may have been career education's first serious foray into the various arenas of public policy at the intergovernmental level. A preliminary assessment, which emerges from the data, extensive informal reports, and the participation of the CEPP Coordinator in many CEPP activities, might "grade" the performance and impact of career education about as follows:

Politicians and decisionmakers (non-educators)	D-plus to C-minus
Public policy sectors (state board members, citizens' groups, service organizations)	C

Public at large (National Public Radio audience, lay participants in CEPP events)	B-plus (concern over education-work ties) C (for school-based education)
Business-industry-commerce	B-plus
Education professionals (higher education)	D
Education professionals (schools)	B-plus to A-minus

This highly subjective interpretation could, and probably does, reflect several strains and causes. In none of the sectors "assessed" does career education fall flat; it does have some kind of message for all of the audiences reached. The message, in its unadorned form, is that there must be better linkages between education and work. When it is targeted more directly on what has come to be understood as the career education movement, a largely school-based affair, the results and interpretations are far less consistent. At one end of the spectrum, the vital one where the politicians live, there is only limited understanding of career education (although much support for its larger purposes) and, more important, only a moderate desire to know more. At the other, that of the educational practitioner in the public schools, acceptance and even a readiness to take the necessary steps to implement career education are far more often found. Even there, though, there is much ignorance of the essentials of the movement, a tendency to categorize it as "guidance run amuck" or "vocational education retooled."

The jury that will help decide the future of career education is thus still out. There is strong support in the quarters of "natural selection," that is, where career education was a foreordained success, but some skepticism and patches of uneasiness in the circles that make public policy. These policymakers

and decisionmakers are IEL's constituency, and we must conclude that the first year of CEPP found them less than consistent in their attitudes toward career education. Some enthused, but more in principle than as a manifestation of concrete understanding. Many, while interested, cited conflicting and competing priorities. Most, it is fair to say, were open-minded, preferring to judge on the basis of performance that can be translated into public policy rather than well-intentioned salesmanship or exhortation.

Although career education's leaders prefer to call their field a movement rather than a program or an area of discrete educational concern (and they may be quite correct in so doing), they should nevertheless still look to the successes -- and the reasons for them -- that some of the partisans for other educational causes have scored. There is much to be learned from the pat s and methods taken by promoters of the causes of, for example, disadvantaged, the handicapped, the vocationally needy, and the low-income postsecondary student. Whether movement, cause, program, or whatever, the very worthwhile field of career education needs all the help it can get. This help must come from sources both inside and outside of education and not just from the education professions and the self-interested corporations and associations that are falling in behind career education. Many of those still to be heard from will take their time deciding whether and how to weigh in. Impressive data sensitively presented will have much to do with their decisions.

DESIGN FOR THE EVALUATION OF CEPP

Performance of educational projects may be judged through the use of four categories of evaluation models Popham recently devised.[1] These categories are:

- Goal Attainment Models
- Judgmental Models Emphasizing Intrinsic Criteria
- Judgmental Models Emphasizing Extrinsic Criteria
- Decision - Facilitation Models

For CEPP, two types of evaluation models may be appropriate. First, an approach in which the emphasis is on intrinsic criteria may be useful. For example, CEPP may be judged on factors such as project design -- the number and kind of project components, the location, the mission, etc. (One may consider, who would want a project intending to inform the public about career education, that issues lengthy, technical reports vs. broadcasting of stimulating radio programs?) There is clearly some intuitive support for the position that these process factors are associated with the final outcomes of a sequence of activities. The scarcity of emperical evidence to confirm or give credence to these relationships, however, suggests the need for a more rigorous approach. The intrinsic criteria established by CEPP personnel will not, however, be altogether discounted, for these factors, e.g., the project activities, staff, location, and its resources, etc., will surely help to clarify what is truly functional in CEPP. Therefore, this evaluation effort will couple the use of intrinsic criteria with extrinsic criteria -- criteria associated with the effects of CEPP, e.g., the amount and kind of interest generated by the radio broadcasts or the utility of information gathered by participants in the Washington Policy Seminars or the Educational Staff Seminars.

While there are several theoretical extrinsic evaluation models in use today, one, developed by Scriven, seems most appropriate for use in the CEPP evaluation. It is the "Modus Operandi Method"[2], described by Popham as "fashioned after the procedures employed by the detective, the historian, the anthropologist, and the electronic troubleshooter...represents an intriguing new evaluation tactic it can bring out the Sherlock Holmes in all of us". The use of the Modus Operandi Method (M.O.) is simply to detect whether an intervention (in this case CEPP) is the cause of a set of effects -- such as increased public awareness of the concept of career education. The M.O. of any cause is associated with a configuration of events, processes, or characteristics, usually in a clear time sequence which can be described as the typical casual chain -- connecting

[1]Popham, W. James. Educational Evaluation. New Jersey, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1975.

[2]Scriven, Michael. "Evaluation Perspectives and Procedures." Evaluation In Education: Current Applications. California, McCutchan, 1974.

the cause with the effect. Thus we can describe project effects discerned by the evaluator and the intervention being evaluated and determine the presence of a "causal chain".

For example, the evaluator might observe an effect caused by the Associates program held in the Birmingham area. The evaluator would:

1) Check for the presence of each possible cause;

2) If more than one possible cause is present, he/she checks for a complete M.O. If none is present then none of the possible causes are, in fact, the cause;

3) If only one M.O. is complete, the possible cause associated with that M.O. is actually the cause; and

4) If more than one complete M.O. is present, the possible causes associated with those M.O.'s are co-causes.

The conclusions reached by the evaluator will, of course, be probable rather than definitive. Evaluators do, however, frequently assess the value of projects and suggest causal relationships with less than perfect certainty and this procedure will hold true for the CEPP evaluation effort. In the final analysis, any evaluation simply involves imposition of a framework for thoughts which can organize and discipline observation and reporting.

In the sections which follow, two kinds of information will be presented:

1) A descriptive summary of the accomplishments of each project component, including an analysis of intrinsic criteria met; and

2) An analysis of project effects traced by the CEPP evaluator.

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP
THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

NPR feed time: 6:30 and 9:30 p.m., EST, Mondays
Program Length: 59:00
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National Public Radio

Options in Education

2025 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036
202-785-6462

NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO'S "OPTIONS IN EDUCATION" FOCUSES ON SCHOOLS & JOBS:
"CAN YOU GET THERE FROM HERE?" FOUR-PART SERIES SCHEDULED FOR JANUARY

Washington, D.C., December 15, 1975 -- Does education prepare anyone for work, for life? That's the question George Meany, Willard Wirtz, James O'Toole and others will be discussing as National Public Radio's OPTIONS IN EDUCATION examines the relationship between schools and jobs in a four-part mini-series, "Can You Get There From Here?" The nation's only regularly-scheduled radio or television coverage of education, OPTIONS IN EDUCATION is broadcast each week by most of NPR's 181 member stations. (Check your local listings or the NPR member station in your area for time and date of broadcast).

"Since 'Working in America' is the topic on the American Issues Calendar during the month of January," said executive producer John Merrow, "we felt it was an appropriate time to concentrate on the difficult questions concerning education and employment."

For the program scheduled during the week of January 5, OPTIONS IN EDUCATION invited James O'Toole, research director of the Center for the Study of the Future, to discuss the plight of the underemployed. O'Toole's comments are punctuated with sound portraits of young college graduates now working in fast food chains, drug stores and supermarkets. "What do we lose by equating education with dollars earned?" he asks. "Is college really worth it? Do colleges have a responsibility for preparing students for the marketplace?"

National Institute of Mental Health social scientist, Elliot Liebow, is featured on the second program, scheduled for the week of January 11. Liebow reacts to sound portraits of people working in "dead-end jobs." His comments focus on how jobs are allocated, how schooling is responsible for tracking people into dead-end avenues of employment, whether or not social class, sex or race are determinants and what the federal role is or should be in the employment sector.

AFL-CIO president George Meany is featured during the week of January 19 in an exclusive interview with NPR reporter Barbara Newman. Meany reveals his thoughts on the failure of the poverty program to train people for jobs, on the effectiveness of the labor movement training programs and on the effect of the "last hired/first fired" philosophy and practice towards minority employment.

Also interviewed on this program is former Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, author of the recent employment study The Boundless Resource. Teachers from several states also report on the effectiveness of current school programs in career education and guidance.

The final program in the mini-series concentrates on the subject of the "American Dream" as a motivation directing the employment goals of workers and managers in a small town. OPTIONS IN EDUCATION's John Merrow taped interviews with workers in the businesses that face the busiest corner in Deleware, Ohio. The program also reports on "Project Talent," a study funded by the National Institute of Education which follows up the education and career choices of students chosen to participate eleven years ago.

OPTIONS IN EDUCATION is a co-production of National Public Radio and the Institute for Educational Leadership of the George Washington University. Executive producer is John Merrow; producer is Midge Hart; co-host is Wendy Blair; reporter is David Ensor.

The four-part series, "Can You Get There From Here?" was made possible by a grant from the Office of Career Education of the U.S. Office of Education. Principal support for OPTIONS IN EDUCATION is provided by a grant from the National Institute of Education. Additional funds are provided by the Robert Sterling Clark Foundation, the Ford Foundation and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

A full transcript is available, as is a cassette of the program, at cost. For further information and order forms, please write OPTIONS IN EDUCATION, National Public Radio, 2025 M St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

-30-

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP
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TRANSCRIPT
WEEK OF JANUARY 5
1976

OPTIONS IN EDUCATION is an electronic weekly magazine devoted to coverage of news, features, policy and people in the field of education.

This transcript marks the beginning of a four-part series on the relationship between jobs and schooling, "Can You Get There From Here?" This first program in the series, available for broadcast by most of National Public Radio's 181 member stations during the week of January 5, concentrates on the subject of underemployment - people working in jobs far less demanding than their intelligence or education requires.

CONTENTS:

		PG.
REPORTERS: John Merrow, David Ensor		
James O'Toole	Center for the Study of the Future	2-5;6-9;11-13; 15-16
Julie Baxter	Ceramics graduate, shipping clerk	5-6
Keith Talbot	Reporter, interviews college students about their career expectations	9-11
Bob Osmond	Graduate student, photography, presently a mail clerk for the U.S. Congress	14-15

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MERROW: Options in Education is a news magazine about all the issues in education, from the abc's of pre-school to the alphabet soup of government programs. This is John Merrow. In this special four-part series we ask the question about schools and jobs, "Can you get there from Here?"

GOLDMAN: How would you describe yourself by the things you do?

Well, I am a lawyer, so I am a paper pusher. I push a ton of paper.

I work for the government but my avocation is rowing. I am a sports fanatic.

I work in an office. I work in an office, like everybody else.

Horses are my life. I own and raise Thoroughbred horses.

I am a photographer and I express my feelings through photography.

I am in psychiatry. I guess it is essentially trying to have or allow or permit people to find themselves and be more, I guess, together within theirselves.

I am an inventor.

Well, I am a writer. You know, what I do is I think and I type. I am an articulate typist.

ENSOR: This is David Ensor. One way we define ourselves is by the work we do, as reporter Connie Goldman just demonstrated. And we very often judge our own values by what society is willing to pay us for the work we do. Now that is fine if you are a doctor or a lawyer or in some other high-paying, high status occupation, but not so good if you shine shoes or pick vegetables.

MERROW: Things must have been simpler in the old days, David. Then only the rich and privileged went on to college and simply going to college was itself pretty much a guarantee of a good job. Now we are well into the noble experiment of mass education and about 60 per cent of each year's graduating high school seniors are continuing their education, either in two-year colleges, trade or technical schools or four-year colleges. By and large high schools are geared to serve that college population. But that in itself creates problems because it gives the short end of the stick to the 40 per cent who aren't going on to school after high school.

ENSOR: I can demonstrate the second part of the problem with a riddle. What do Caroline Kennedy, Susan Ford and Steven Ford have in common? One answer is of course that they are children of Presidents. But there is another link: all three are college dropouts, young people who have decided that at least for the moment college doesn't fit into

their plans. The world knows that Caroline Kennedy is studying Art in London, that Susan Ford is taking pictures in Colorado, and that brother Jack is learning to bust broncos on the West Coast. But you may not know that half of those entering college will drop out before graduation. That is over 800,000 dropouts a year.

MERROW: And they are joining the high school graduates and the high school dropouts in the market place, looking for work at a time when the national unemployment rate is roughly ten per cent.

ENSOR: Because of this situation, some widely-held views are under attack. First is the notion that nearly everyone should go to college. Second is the idea that "college pays" -- in fact it may not pay to go to college, at least in terms of more dollars earned.

MERROW: It still pays for bank robbers, though. There is a study showing that those who rob banks by means of sophisticated computer schemes get away with twice as big a haul as those who use the conventional "stick-em-up" approach. We need more evidence than this to prove that education pays, but nevertheless college enrollment reached an all-time high of 11,300,000 students this fall and is likely to go even higher in the immediate future.

ENSOR: Analysts looking at the problem find a cycle of more and more college-trained people applying for fewer and fewer jobs that actually call for a college education, and accompanying that, an ever larger army of young dropouts who were trained to go to school, but aren't. It is social dynamite, according to James O'Toole of the Center for the Study of the Future, in California. Professor O'Toole, author of "Work in America" and "The Reserve Army of the Underemployed" talks with my colleague, John Merrow.

MERROW: Jim, your monograph is called "The Reserve Army of the Underemployed". That idea of underemployment, would you explain what you mean by that?

O'TOOLE: Economists have different definitions for this term. I will just give you the definition that I use, not the ones that they would all accept or use. Underemployment is the under-utilization of human talents, skills, training, ability, education, in effect, under-utilization of human resources. It is my contention that this is becoming a cronic or lasting problem in western industrial societies. Unemployment, which is clearly something that is very painful, has at least the one saving grace that it is cyclical, that is unemployment rates do go up and down. They tend not to stay high or to stay low for any period of time. The problem of underemployment, though, seems to be growing and will continue to grow. We can't see that this will be cyclical and this will reverse itself. So I feel that underemployment may come to characterize the problems of our work force in a much more painful manner even than will unemployment.

MERROW: So by "underemployment," then you mean really that the job doesn't ask enough of the person who is doing the job? The job is too dumb?

O'TOOLE: That is a pretty good way of putting it, I think. The worker just feels that he deserves better, that he can handle a lot more, that his training and his intelligence is not being used, that he could have more challenge, more responsibility, that he could handle it, he could give a lot more to the organization or to the employer than he is currently giving. He gets a feeling that one's talents are being wasted. You have heard this expression. When someone says,

"My talents are being wasted on this job." that is a pretty good characterization of the fact that the person is probably underemployed.

Now, whether the person is underemployed or not is something that is very hard to measure. What is important, I think, is whether the person perceives that he is underemployed. If you feel that your talents are being wasted, that perhaps is more important than if they actually are, because then it leads to frustration and it leads to all kinds of problems with morale and eventually even to lower productivity.

MERROW: That is interesting. You are saying that the notion of lower productivity, in your book you mentioned that studies show that sabotage and the accidents that occur in factories, that it is the underemployed workers, the brighter workers who aren't sufficiently challenged, they are the ones who apparently are more responsible.

O'TOOLE: Well, the data on this is very weak. I got into a lot of trouble with that study. The author has backed down on his original claims. But I think that the argument, though, is worth thinking about for a minute, because if we look at the work that Ira Berg and the others done, it seems to support this notion. Let me just backtrack for a second to try to explain it. We also assumed that by upgrading the skills of the worker that the worker would be more productive. That is, that if you have a worker with a high school education, he will be less productive than a worker with a college education and this is a basic assumption of economists and of managers in our society, that we have constantly upgraded the credential requirements for jobs. Berg and others have looked at this and they have found that just the opposite seems to happen, that if you don't change the nature of the job, but you upgrade the credential requirements you tend to get lower productivity from the workers.

Now, that happens for several reasons. First of all, if you have a person with a high school education who ends up, say, in a middle managerial job, he will be terribly satisfied. His expectations were met. He will say, "This is a pretty good job for a guy like me. I never expected I could go so far." And he will work very, very hard and very diligently. But if you take someone with a college education who is expecting to be President of the company and he ends up in a middle level managerial job he will say, "What a failure I am. They don't appreciate me." He will become frustrated and he won't work as hard and he will cause all kinds of trouble.

Now, if we look at what happens on the shop floor, I think something is quite interesting here, that if you look at the data on the IQ's of workers we find an extremely high number of blue collar workers or laborers with very, very high IQ's. There is something like a third more blue collar workers who have IQ's over 130 than do college professors. Of course any of you who have been in a faculty meeting won't be too surprised by those numbers. But clearly there are more blue collar workers than there are college professors. But what is important here is that among blue collar workers we have a rather normal distribution of intelligence, on the bell curve, normal distribution of intelligence, which means that the average is 100. Well, we design the jobs for the lowest common denominator. We design them to be ---

MERROW: Like television?

O'TOOLE: Yes. We say "goof-proof" in management. You assume

that the workers are idiots and you design the job so they can't foul it up.

MERROW: Which means that half of your workers are going to find themselves in jobs that are too dumb for them, that they are much too smart for.

O'TOOLE: If you set it for the level of 60 it will be more than half.

MERROW: Okay.

O'TOOLE: So we have a situation, then, that a lot of very intelligent blue collar workers on dumb jobs. Now there are clearly some dumb blue collar workers on dumb jobs, too. I think that we probably can't worry too much about those people.

MERROW: But the former group are underemployed.

O'TOOLE: I would say they are underemployed and I would posit that they are the ones who are dissatisfied with work. There are some studies of indirect evidence that these people, they start assuming that they are in dead-end jobs. When people complain, blue collar workers complain that they are in dead-end jobs, their levels of frustration rise. And according to work that has been done by my colleague Harold Sheperd, these are people who tend to want some kind of continuing education. They want to get out of this vind that they are in. They also are people who seem to have to transfer their hatred and their frustrations on to radical political causes.

There is some other evidence to show that these people cannot achieve their desire to learn and to grow in their leisure activities. They are so destroyed in the job, the jobs so beat them down that they go home and all they want to do is end up watching television. So I think that we do have this resource, this human resource, these very intelligent workers, that we are not fully tapping.

MERROW: Studs Terkel quotes a lady, "Most of us have jobs that are too small for our spirits," which I guess is what you are talking about when you talk about the underemployed people or the underemployed self. I wonder, Jim, if you hold the view that we have the right to job satisfaction, if that is a basic right.

O'TOOLE: Well, that is a very difficult question I would be rather reluctant to add any more rights to the rights that we already seem to have. Part of our problem in society is this question of entitlement. We feel that more and more factors, more and more things that used to be privileges are now rights. I would argue, though, still saying that, that in a way it certainly is a right for a person to have a job that does not demean him. I think that a job that destroys a person so that the person, as I was referring to a few minutes earlier, cannot effectively go home and take part in community activities and a person can't go home and recreate himself, if the person is so destroyed on the job that there is no other life left for that person, then I would argue that that is probably infringement of the basic human rights.

How one goes about creating that, I don't know. I don't pretend to have the answer to that. But I think that employers have in the past made a very false assumption and that is that correcting that worker's morale and their lives are kind of a free good and that the employer

then could take the worker on the job and just destroy the person physically and mentally and then throw him out to the community at night and assume that that was his right to do it and that there were no costs. There is a kind of psychological pollution that goes with the industrial pollution. The employers assume that they can take the air and the water as free goods and send it back to the community befouled. What they do is feel that they can take the worker and pollute his mind and destroy him so that he is not an effective member of the community and send him out and that is their right. I don't believe that that is the right of employers.

ENSOR: We will hear more in a moment from James O'Toole, author of the HEW report, "Work in America" and "The Reserve Army of the Underemployed."

BAXTER: My name is Julie Baxter. I went to Catholic University studying ceramics and now work at Georgetown Leather Design as a shipping clerk.

ENSOR: Julie Baxter, the shipping clerk, spent four years in college. Was it a waste of time? She discovered that she enjoys making pottery.

BAXTER: I think I have changed a whole lot since I decided to go to college. I don't think I had ever even thought of working with clay at all when I was a senior in high school. It comes from, I guess, the last four years. I watched this one lady teach and I was just -- I had seen it done before, but watching this one woman who I would like to apprentice from soon, I just couldn't believe it. She had one arm in a sling and she was throwing with the other one. It was like magic.

ENSOR: But now she is a shipping clerk. Listen as she describes her working day and her hopes for the future.

BAXTER: Basically, I am a shipping "cluck", clerk. I just receive the garments and items that are made downstairs, bags, and "schlep" them up in the plastic bags and receive them, write it up. If there is anything for wholesale that gets shipped, I ship it. I mean it is nothing. My job is not overly impressive. It is not taxing at all. I have to make up work a lot of times to look busy. People like you to look busy. But they won't give me the time off. I would rather only work three days a week and hustle for three days and have the other time off. But that is not the way it is. They like you to be here all five days and look busy. I don't work too fast. After I have my coffee and have done a little work other people have come in. I talk to them for a while. The major conversation is what they are going to do for the day, you know, nothing. Everybody is talking about lunch at 10:30.

Everybody is in the same boat I am. I feel frustrated. It is all such busy work. You get to feel like a worker ant, and why, why do you do it? At one point I needed the money, but now I don't need the money, so I am leaving. I have enough money to live without them until I become a success.

I am going to use my college education, I guess. I am going to be working in ceramics. But I haven't been using my education at all. What is there to use? I walk in in the morning. I never have to think. I could be a zombie. I could have had a lobotomy and conducted my job

the same. I don't need to think, being here at all. You almost get the impression they don't want you to anyway. There is no taxing problem. There is nothing to think about. There is no challenge. I mean, the only thing to think about, I guess, is having a good conversation with everybody around you and getting the most out of the people you work with because there is nothing to get out of the job.

But it has gotten to the point, I mean, I have been there an embarrassingly long time, and I'm quitting. I am leaving my job to try and make it in ceramics, be a functional potter, in some way, shape, or form. I mean, I would like to do pottery, do production work. That is kind of a big dream. It costs a lot of money just to set up. That is what I am working towards. That is why I am quitting, because I may try and set up and do it on a smaller scale now.

But ideally I would like to do that and then like to take in other people. Well, I would like to be taken in right now, maybe. So right now if I could get a job as an apprentice I would be perfectly happy. I would not mind "schlepping" around in an atmosphere that I like. To me, clay is a lot different than leather or than paper work. And when I have the time I can just do that all the time.

Back when I was throwing in school, throwing pots on my wheel, I had developed a rhythm then. Without the rhythm you can't get the life in the pots. I come home from work now and you are just too beat to throw. But college seems like an absurd place to learn about ceramics. It is not that I -- you know, like I think it is great that they taught it and everything, but I don't think it was necessary, I don't think it is necessary for me to even have a B.A. in Art for ceramics. It doesn't say "B.A. Pottery". Who needs it? I know, I don't think a B.A. is important, personally.

There is no market for you in today's society. There is nothing you can do. I mean like there is commercial art. But my interests went elsewhere. So, it is just proof that you know more than somebody else. That is all it is. I mean like how many degrees do you stack behind you? I don't think I need the proof.

ENSOR: Julie Baxter doesn't think she needs proof that a college degree represents. But Julie learned about ceramics in college, not in high school, on television, or at home. Then, armed with a college degree, she became a shipping clerk. There are millions of Americans in Julie Baxter's shoes -- too tired after eight hours in a boring job to recreate themselves in their leisure time. Julie Baxter is probably typical in another way, too. Because she's a college graduate, she -- and the rest of society -- expect more from her. And she expects a "good job". Now even if the "good" in "good job" is a relative term, we do know that there aren't enough good jobs to go around.

Let's listen in on more of John Merrow's conversation with James O'Toole.

MERROW: There are simply not enough good jobs for everyone who thinks he deserves one. Why is that? Why aren't there enough good jobs?

O'TOOLE" It is very difficult to talk about the supply of jobs. You can't make a statement that there are not enough good jobs, period, because you get into the whole area of attitudes and expectations, that a good job for someone with an IQ of 30 might be cleaning clothes. The person might find that as challenging and as rewarding and about as interesting as any kind of work that he or she could do. Now, on the other hand, if you look at the other end of the spectrum of intelligence, if you get someone who has an IQ of 150, that person might even be bored being a radio announcer, for example.

MERROW: Oh, I can imagine that.

O'TOOLE: What would appear to be a good job for most people still might not be stimulating for a person who is very bright and who had quite a bit of education and particularly who had very high expectations. The key aspect of what I was talking about there when I said there aren't enough jobs to go around for everyone who thinks he deserves one is the issue of attitudes and expectations.

MERROW: That is what determines a good job, then.

O'TOOLE: Yes, and what has happened in the labor force is that a growing portion of the force is now expecting better and better jobs. That is because people are better educated, because they have had a great degree of affluence, because their security needs are met, that is they don't worry about it if they don't work that they are going to starve to death -- none of their friends are starving to death if you are a college graduate -- that they can constantly expect more from work. And I think that educational institutions have done a great disservice, I would say, in fostering these very high expectations.

MERROW: You make it sound like progress is its own worst enemy.

O'TOOLE: Well, I don't think that it is progress that we are talking about necessarily. I think that it certainly is progress that people aren't starving to death and it is certainly progress that people have better security and that we managed to get through this recession without having a depression. But it is not progress when people with unreal expectations are fostered by the society. When young people are told "You go to college, you get a degree, and you go out and you are going to get a good job and a well-paying job." The University of California even had a time where they had billboards around the State saying that a college education was worth, I don't know, $300,000 a year, or whatever the figure was at that time. Given the rate of inflation since then, it is probably worth $1 million in 1975 dollars.

MERROW: If you can get a job.

O'TOOLE: Yes. So young people went to school with the expectation that they were going to get a good job and a well-paying job and this is an open sesame to success.

MERROW: But Jim, let me interrupt. Wasn't that true ten years ago when people were saying, "Go to school" and so on and so forth?

O'TOOLE: Yes. I think for a time it was true and I think that at certain stages in the economic development of a nation it is going to be true in any country. At certain stages it is not. It is not in a country that is way underdeveloped, that has massive and acute unemployment as they have in India and Africa. What happens there is that college graduates grow up and they end up standing on the street corners looking for a job. But it seems to be true at a certain level of development. Clearly, it was in the 50's and 60's in the U.S. It was true. But some things have happened now that the nature of the work force has changed, the nature of demand has changed, and it is no longer true today. Some recent studies done by a team of researchers at Harvard and MIT show that the relative economic advantage of going to college has all but disappeared. There is a very small, minor advantage over those who don't go to college.

MERROW: Explain what that means.

O'TOOLE: Well, it means that in the past that if you went to college your lifetime income would be something like $300,000 or $400,000 higher than someone who only had a high school diploma. Today, because of a rather depressed demand for college graduates and also because a lot of blue collar workers, particularly the skilled union workers, are making very high salaries, that the difference has all but disappeared.

MERROW: Now, when you figure something like that, I assume that you first have to figure that, well, you are going away to college for four years, therefore you are giving up four years of income and you are also investing four years of tuition and fees. So that then you have to calculate, well, when I get out of college how much more will I make? Are people actually making those calculations? Are 17-year olds and 18-year olds actually making those calculations? Do you suppose?

O'TOOLE: Well, I don't agree. The economists feel that there is a, they say, a Scotsman in each of us, that we are constantly making these kinds of rational decisions. I don't buy it for a moment. But young people didn't have to make those calculations because they were made for them. The billboard was there in the subway. I can recall at the same time there were signs that said, "Don't drop out; you will ruin your chances of getting a good job."

MERROW: I remember that well.

O'TOOLE: And so the young people were told by their parents, by their teachers, by people in government and their ministers and everyone else that they had to go on to college and stay in school and not drop out and it was an investment in their future. And I think that that was the key concept here for us to think about. That is, education has been viewed and it has been sold as an investment. Now I would rather think of it in terms of what economists call a consumption good. That is that the reason why one pursues higher education is because presumably one thirsts after knowledge, one wants to become well-rounded, one is curious about what is happening in the world. Education is important in terms of providing the skills for citizenship, the skills for coping with life, the skills needed to have a successful family life, to raise children, to participate in community activities, the leisure-time type skills that are going to become much more important in the future; that education is something that we do for all of these things.

Now it also has, clearly, an indirect relevance to work in that the skills that most employers seem to want are being able to read and write and compute and to get along with other people and to cope with change and all those things. And education has an indirect value there, too. But it is not a direct value. It is not that direct dollars and cents payoff that young people were led to believe that was there over the last few decades.

ENSOR: James O'Toole, talking with John Merrow. O'Toole says that while a college education may not pay off in direct dollar gains, education itself is a sound investment because there is more to life than work. Rising expectations -- what workers and students expect

from their jobs -- are hard to measure. We sent reporter Keith Talbot to a local college library during the Christmas vacation. There he discovered a lot of students hard at work. He interrupted a number of them to ask about their job expectations.

I am a student in American University Law School in Washington, D. C., and I'm studying law.

TALBOT: Do you think that from what you are learning in school now you will be able to get a job?

Possibly not the type job that I want initially when I get out. But after going through a few jobs, hopefully I will get the job that I want.

TALBOT: Which is?

Which is a position in a law firm, not a big one, but something like I'll have some responsibility and apply some of the things I have learned.

I'm a student at Georgetown University in pre-med, psychology and English.

TALBOT: Do you think you will be able to get a job from what you are learning in school now?

I'm going to go to graduate school and medical school.

TALBOT: Do you think you will get the job that you want?

Sure, after medical school I think I can get the kind of job that I want, yes.

ENSOR: Others who were spending their vacations in the library professed to be relatively unconcerned about future employment.

I'm a student at Clark University in Western Massachusetts, and I'm studying biology.

TALBOT: From what you are studying now, do you think you will be able to get a job?

Well, I don't expect -- that's not what I'm there for -- to get a job. I'm not goal-oriented. I'm not a pre-professional student. I'm there for the education.

I'm a student at American University. I'm studying literature and I don't think I'm going to get a job from my education.

TALBOT: Is that a disappointment? Were you planning on getting a job from what you are learning?

Not really, no.

I go to school at Antioch in Yellow Springs, Ohio. I'm studying Environmental Studies.

TALBOT: Do you think you will be able to get a job from what you are studying in school now?

Probably not, but that is not my goal because I would like to work on my own farm somewhere.

TALBOT: Why are you going to school then?

To learn about Environmental Studies and plant nutrition so that I can know myself later on about those things while I'm living on my farm.

TALBOT: Okay. Do you have an independent source of income?

No. I'll figure it out later.

I go to school at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor. I'm studying Political Science. And who knows if I can get a job?

TALBOT: You don't think you will be able to get a job when you get out of school?

I'm working on my doctorate, so I have no idea.

TALBOT: Why do you go to school then?

A very typical answer: What else do you want to do?

TALBOT: The young man working on his PhD. thesis may be in for a real jolt when he finishes school because the more schooling, the fewer jobs. That is a Catch-22 to rival the original. Many students get their Bachelors Degrees, discover that they cannot step into what they see as a "good" job, and so go on to graduate school. But when they complete the Masters Degree or PhD., they are worse off because they are now overqualified for most jobs, and the competition for the "appropriate" positions is brutal. But most of the students reporter Talbot talked with seem aware of the job situation in their chosen fields and willing to go the extra mile, or wait the extra year, to land the kind of job they want.

I'm a student at Wittenberg University in Springfield, Ohio, and I'm studying Music Therapy.

TALBOT: Do you think you will be able to get a job from what you are learning in school?

Yes, either as a teacher in college or actually working with children.

I'm a student at the University of Delaware in Newark, Delaware and I'm studying Physical Education.

TALBOT: Do you think from what you are learning in school now you will be able to get a job?

No, I don't, because the field is very tight right now, all teaching is, pretty much so.

TALBOT: So what are you going to school for?

To get a degree and hopefully work some other kind of job until I find one in Physical Education that I want.

I'm a student at the University of Florida in Gainesville and I'm studying Electronics.

TALBOT: Do you think you will be able to get a job from what you are learning in school now?

I think so.

TALBOT: Are you confident about it?

Yes, pretty sure. There has been an uprise in the need for majors in Electronics, Masters or something.

I go to Genesee State, part of the State university system in New York. I'm a Speech and Hearing major; and yes, I think I can get a job.

TALBOT: There are positions available?

Not a lot, but they are there. You have to look for them. You have to travel for them. But they are there.

ENSOR: College students talking about their job expectations with reporter Keith Talbot. What those jobs are actually like may come as a surprise because in all likelihood they haven't had much on-the-job experience. What's more, they will probably change jobs quite a number of times and end up doing something they never dreamed of doing, let alone trained for. The average worker holds down seven jobs in a lifetime, and the more education, the greater the job mobility. James O'Toole has looked at schooling and at jobs and he thinks both are in need of an overhaul.

O'TOOLE: We need a type of dual policy here, a policy that affects the workplace and a policy that affects the schools. The policy that affects the schools, I think, can be stated rather simply: We have to do things to break the expectations that the college degree is a passport to a good job. We have to say it is not an investment. There are other things that can be done and we can talk about those later.

But in terms of the workplace many things can be done to make work more challenging and more interesting than it currently is. In the report, "Work in America," we outlined several of these. There is much recent research that shows that work can be redesigned, most jobs can be redesigned to make them more interesting, rewarding, to increase the intrinsic rewards from the job. Now, I must say that there are limitations to this. There are some jobs that for very bright people you could never make them interesting. But for most jobs, if you do things like have the workers involved in decision-making, if you provide workers with a chance to constantly learn new skills and new tasks, to learn how to do the jobs of other people that they work with, to put tools of self-management in the hands of the workers, that it will be more interesting and more rewarding.

MERROW: You seem to be saying that these demands that our better-educated populace are making are legitimate demands; it's necessary for the workplace to change, for there to be more intrinsic satisfaction in jobs.

O'TOOLE: I like very much the way you phrased that question. It is necessary for the workplace to change. I think it is because the

alternative is cutting back on education. Now, it is clear that if you educate people you increase their thirst for learning and for growth. Now, we have a situation in this country and also it is occurring in most of the industrialized countries of the world -- it is not just an American phenomenon by any stretch of the imagination. But we have the case where we have more and more young people coming out of school with these higher expectations.

You have only a couple of choices here. One is, you can say, "We'll cut back on higher education. We'll limit access to higher education. We'll limit the number of people who can go to college to the number of people whose jobs actually require that education." Now, they do this in the Soviet Union and in other places, and I would say at intolerable costs to freedom and to opportunity and even to equality, which is presumably the primary goal of the Soviet system. But we can either cut back on education, which I would say is impossible -- once you open the door to education you can't close it because education is viewed in this country,more increasingly viewed, as a right for every citizen. Higher levels of education are viewed as a right. And you might be able to cool off the expectations of people a little bit and you might also want to be more honest with people about what education really means, but you can't say "No, you can't go." Particularly you can't say "no" to Blacks and other minorities who now suddenly they are getting access to higher education and you say, "Hold it, we made a mistake. We are going to cut your access off now because you're not going to get a good job and you really don't want this anyway."

Well, I don't think that we are going to get away with that. So the alternative, then, is to change work as much as we can. And I think that we can change work, although it is not a simple thing to do. But there are enough things that can be done with the workplace to make it more interesting and rewarding, to cut back on some of the problems where we are not meeting the expectations of these newly-educated workers.

MERROW: You made the argument that you can't cut back on education; but let me take the other side of that. Maybe less education would be a good idea. You yourself say that by 1980 only 20 percent of all jobs will require a college education. Today half of the jobs don't require even a high school diploma. So, it seems to me there is a real argument there that is saying, "Well, why should we bother educating people? They don't need it for their jobs and all we are doing is raising and creating false expectations. Therefore, cut the budgets," et cetera, et cetera, et cetera.

O'TOOLE: Well, that goes back to a point I was making earlier that if you view the primary purpose of education to prepare people for the world of work, then I would say there is some reason to accept the argument that you just offered. But if you feel that there are some higher purposes to education, which I happen to believe, then you cannot follow that line of reasoning. If education is as much for leisure and family and citizenship as it is for work, then just because people aren't using those skills in the workplace is no excuse or rationale for cutting back education.

I would hate to think that people would use the argument -- and I realize there is a danger in this -- that people are using the arguments that I'm making about the relationship of education and work as an excuse to cut back expenditures for education. I would argue just the opposite. I think that the kind of world that we are getting into will need a better-educated populace. We'll need better-educated people.

We may not need them necessarily, they may not need that education necessarily on their jobs, but certainly they are going to need it as citizens and they are going to need it to be able to cope with the enormous changes that are going to occur in their lives. They are going to need it to raise their children in a better way than our parents did with us.

MERROW: To get over the dead spots in the future, whatever the line you quote from John Dewey.

O'TOOLE: Yes, but the people are going to be constantly assaulted with change in the future. And some of it is at work, but a lot of it will be just in their lives, changing sex roles, changing family roles, changing political structures. All of these things will require, I believe, a much better educated population.

MERROW: You are arguing, then, not for more technical education. You are arguing for something which is usually called a liberal education; education to enable one to understand and thinking processes, it sounds to me.

O'TOOLE: Yes, exactly that. I feel that in the past the people who have been most able to cope with change, with different kinds of jobs, with different kinds of environment, have been the liberally educated. These people have learned how to learn. And learning how to learn, I think, is the secret for survival over the next several decades. We cannot predict what the future is going to offer. The pace and the scope of technological and social and political change has increased to such an alarming rate that we can't keep up with it and we can't really predict it or forecast it. What we have to provide, I believe, is an educated population of people who know how to cope with change; whatever change may bring, they will be able to look at it, see what they need to learn, what they need to do to cope with it, and step in and be able to get the resources that they need to be able to survive.

I think that really a liberal education is the key to this. Now, when I'm saying "liberal education," I'm not talking just about the traditional kind of education that people have gotten at Harvard and other places. I'm talking about the type of education in which people may have more experiential kind of learning experiences. It is not possible, I don't think, just to learn to cope with change from reading the classics. Young people may have to, at a very early stage, have some kind of exposure to the real world. That is why I favor things like cooperative education. What happens, though, is that they can take these practical experiences and they can bring them back into the classroom and the teachers can help them raise the level of these experiences to some higher level of abstraction. This is where I think the key to learning in education may be. That is to take something that is practical and seems particular, to raise it to a higher level of abstraction so that when people are faced with a similar situation in the future they will know how to cope with it. I think that it is really coping skills that we are looking for.

ENSOR: James O'Toole talked about the need for a liberal education, which John Dewey described as a means of getting through life's "dead spots".

MERROW: We need coping skills also, O'Toole says, and he is certainly right about that. A recent test of the ability of adults

to function in a complex society found that 20 percent could not. Another 34 percent functioned on a minimal level.

ENSOR: Not everyone is underemployed, over-educated and frustrated, of course. It is possible to steer the course that O'Toole suggests. Bob Osmond just finished graduate school in photography. He now works as a mail clerk for the United States Congress. By some standards he is a failure. Not by his own lights, or, we expect, by O'Toole's either.

OSMOND: I got very interested in photography. I must have been 14 or 15 and I was messing around with a Polaroid camera and I decided that was a little too limited and I realized you could develop your own film. Now, look over at the house. Now stare right into the camera. Now, that was a little too wicked. You looked like Neil Young. And I ended up going to graduate school for photography. Now, you wouldn't want me to say "cheese". It wouldn't work. With some people you can. Like if I was taking a picture of my grandmother I could probably get away with saying "cheese".

I have always known that I am going to be using writing and communication skills such as photography and film all my life. Like, that just was a preconceived notion that I'm sure I picked up in high school. So,everything,I would say, going through the college courses was very much different. Like, I know for one thing, when you get out into the real world, like I have had many different jobs which weren't related to photography or writing and you have to learn that job and your background is more or less instincts or your educational background, you pick up instincts for things. But you can't pick up the skills as such because each job is just so completely different. And that is pretty much true, too, of photography. Like each photographic job is different.

So what you learn in college and what you do on the job are two different things. The trick is to find the job and to get it and start working at it. That is where it is very difficult because that takes a certain kind of public relations sense, I believe, if anything. Like that could be something that would be a relevant course in college, to teach a student a public relations point of attitude just when they go get the job, other than drilling in all these economic principles where you start working for an accounting firm and they are using all different sorts of forms and things so you have to relearn the whole thing.

I mean, you have to get a basic understandi[illegible]. But I don't believe it should be so tightly geared towards the technology. That is going to change anyway in two years. The technology always does. Like, even the cameras and the things I was using several years ago and the films, they are all different. What you do pick up probably is somewhat of a confidence. Like, you can get out and you feel that you have gone so far and you aren't scared of people such as teachers or instructors or the hierarchy any more because you know what game they are playing.

As a matter of fact, I kind of have a whole philosophy like if I'm living I want to know it. I don't want to kind of get in a rut. I think that is something like that you pick up in college, that life is a lot richer than just doing the nine-to-five job and coming home and watching the TV, although you can't say that that applies to everyone. But I think if you know there is something more it will keep you fighting. It will give you a little more to living and there is nothing to say that you can't be changing jobs all your life. Like, I know I have been changing jobs all the time. That is part of the fun of it.

Because after you learn one thing there is always something else. Even if you became President of the United States, look at Gerald Ford, he seems to be bored with his job. There is just nothing in it. But it is what you can make with your whole life a a total. Your job is primarily eight hours a day. And I think you find that with the greatest people because they have developed, in the other 16 hours of the day, something very worthwile.

ENSOR: Bob Osmond has had three jobs in his few months in Washington, each one better than the last. He says he looks forward to moving from job to job as long as he can satisfy his need to work in photography off the job.

OSMOND: And so it is kind of just playing it by ear and taking the blows logically when they come and adjusting and being flexible. It depends, if you want to live in a luxury situation with all the thrills and frills and all that, or whether you want to live as an individual in an enviroment where you are pretty much alone with your own interests and hobbies and friends and all that.

ENSOR: But Bob Osmond's particular situation probably wouldn't work for most of us. We value stability, for one thing. And besides, many people are looking for job satisfaction built in, that is intrinsic satisfaction from the job itself. That is what we learned in school. But in reality we generally settle for extrinsic rewards, that is the money or privileges that come with the job. We may compensate for an unfulfilling job with an interesting hobby or a lot of TV. John Merrow asks James O'Toole for some solutions to the problems he had described.

MERROW: I hear you saying that, well, the schools really do have to change because the schools have been selling education as meal ticket to more money and a job with both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards.

The market place, the workplace, has to change also where jobs have to be redesigned. Jobs have been heretofore designed with almost a kind of contempt for the workers, assuming they are dummies. They have to be redesigned so that there will be challenge, there will be interest in doing the work itself. So that with both those kinds of changes you will be moving toward a much better society. Now that is all very nice, and I agree with you, but it is not realistic. So let me try out another solution, one that we are much closer to. How about a good depression? How about a war? Would that solve our problems?

O'TOOLE: Well, it wouldn't solve all of our problems, that is for sure. Of course depressions do tend to lower people's expectations a little and I think that is probably what you have in mind.

MERROW: That is what I meant.

O'TOOLE: I don't think it is such a good idea that we lower people's expectations. I would hope that young people and that the goal of educational processes is to still make people want something better than they currently have. You wouldn't have progress is you didn't have that. I hope we didn't lower expectations to the point that young people were willing to accept the kinds of jobs that they are offered.

I think that it is the purpose of education to have people aspire a little bit higher than they would without it. But what I worry about is very, very unreal expectations, expectations that can

never be met, expectations that would lead to frustration; expectations that could lead to people thinking that I am a failure because I didn't achieve this, when really it is a product of the social system.

ENSOR: The changes in the workplace might come about nationally, though not necessarily quietly, if educated workers simply refuse to accept what they see as dumb jobs. But because there are more workers than there are jobs these days, the workplace is unlikely to change drastically. O'Toole doesn't want young college graduates to see themselves as failures merely because their college degrees haven't proven to be tickets to good jobs. But he does want people to keep on going to school and to keep on learning.

MERROW: But we barely scratched the surface of the problem, David. First off, whether James O'Toole likes it or not, those who pay for our colleges and universities are doing so largely because they believe that education increases personal productivity and the gross national product. It will be a cold day in Congress when that august body votes more money for education simply because it makes people's inner lives richer. That holds true for State Legislatures, too.

There is another facet of the problem of schooling and jobs that we have to mention. Do you remember that doctoral student who, when asked why he was going to school, asked rhetorically, "What else do you want me to do?" to me, that answer not only smacks of a legitimate fear of graduating, but also of a kind of arrogance, probably unconscious. Half of the young people in the country never have the luxury of asking that question or of making that kind of choice.

ENSOR: For them, high school graduation, if in fact they even graduate, means going to work the next day or the next week, that is if they can find work -- because unemployment among some groups of young people is as high as 40 percent.

MERROW: We haven't considered their expectations and we haven't asked whether they are underemployed. We know that schools, in their rush to prepare the majority for college, are not preparing many of them to cope with a changing society. Next week we will be taking a close look at the other side, the underside of the coin, if you will.

ENSOR: We'll also guide you though the maze of terminology that inflicts this aspect of schools, vocational education, experiential education, distributive education, hands-on learning, cooperative education, and career education. We'll also talk to classroom teachers all across the country on what they are doing to prepare their students for a lifetime of work.

MERROW: In the last program in this series we want to present your thoughts and ideas about schooling and jobs and how both might adjust to a changing society. We would like your answer to one specific question about your own present occupation. Here's the question: When you were in school, did you plan or train for the job you now hold? Send your answer to Options in Education, 2025 M (as in employee) Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

ENSOR: Transcripts of the four-part series are available for $1.00. A single cassette costs $4.00. The entire series (four cassettes) is available for $12.00. And don't forget that question: When you were in school, did you plan or train for the job you now hold? Our address, 2025 M (as in employer) Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., 20036.

MERROW: Production and promotion funds for this four-part series have been provided by the Office of Career Education of the United States Office of Education.

We are especially pleased to announce a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The grant, which was made to the Institute for Educational Leadership, will be used primarily to support research and evaluation. We want to find out who is listening to Options in Education and what our audience likes and dislikes about the series.

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TRANSCRIPT OF PROGRAM TO BE BROADCAST
WEEK OF JANUARY 12, 1976

OPTIONS IN EDUCATION is an electronic weekly magazine devoted to coverage of news, features, policy and people in the field of education. This transcript focuses on a conversation between anthropologist Dr. Elliot Liebow, author of Tally's Corner, and OIE executive producer John Merrow. Reporter is Keith Talbot and host is Wendy Blair.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Dr. Elliot Liebow, John Merrow	1-14
Kenneth Flynn	12-13

This week's program is the second in a series of four programs on the relationship between schooling and jobs, "Can You Get There From Here?" This program, available for broadcast by National Public Radio's 181 member stations the week of January 12, concentrates on Dr. Liebow's reactions to several sound portraits of people in what could be considered "dead end" jobs.

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(Check your local listings or the NPR member station in your area for time and date of broadcast.)

A full transcript is available as is a cassette at cost. Due to special funds from the Office of Career Education received for this mini-series, transcripts for the month of January are available at no cost and cassettes for all four programs are $12.00 (Single cassettes are priced at $4.00 each)

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BLAIR: Options in Education is a news magazine about all the issues in education, from the abc's of pre-school to the alphabet soup of government programs. I'm Wendy Blair. This week John Merrow and I continue a special four-part series on schooling and jobs, "Can You Get There From Here?"

LIEBOW: What it means to be unemployed; the kind of feelings that people have and walk around with or even when they are threatened with their jobs. To see smart secretaries, real smart gals, walk around who know that they are smarter than the guys they work for.

MERROW: That happens all the time.

LIEBOW: All the time, and it eats them up and they have to swallow it and live with it and you can smell it in them, their sense of frustration when they've got so much that they can do and they're kept from doing it.

BLAIR: That's anthropologist Elliot Liebow, author of "Tally's Corner," talking about the psychological impact of unemployment and underemployment. Last week we looked at the phenomenon of underemployment and talked with James O'Toole of the Center for the Study of the Future and author of "The Reserve Army of the Underemployed." O'Toole described the millions of Americans, mostly college-educated, whose expectations for meaningful work are frustrated in jobs which they see as dull and unchallenging. Their jobs, in short, are too small for their spirits.

MERROW: And the personal consequences of underemployment are felt off the job because work is perhaps the single most important human activity. If you don't feel good about your work it is hard to feel good about yourself. It's hard to recreate yourself in your leisure time. O'Toole also expressed a real concern that we have been overselling education in this country by promising young people better jobs and more money if they go to college. And 60 percent of last year's high school graduates went on to college -- but half of those won't graduate. So, we have a college-oriented public school system, even though only about 25 percent of our young people complete college. These 25 percent are candidates for underemployment. But what about the others, the students who are tracked into business or general education courses in high school?

BLAIR: They are likely to worry a lot more about unemployment. For example, unemployment among young Black males is over 50 percent in some cities. The book, "Tally's Corner" describes the lives of a dozen or so unemployed and underemployed Black men who spend most of their time at a carryout restaurant on a street corner. Dr. Elliot Liebow, who wrote "Tally's Corner," spent a year with these men in Washington, D. C., men like Tally, Sea Cat, Leroy, and Richard.

LIEBOW: Richard is 24 years old. He is about 5 foot 10, thin and muscular. Richard was born and raised in a small town in the Carolinas. He graduated from high school and married a girl who had lived across the street from him since childhood. In 1960, Richard had to leave his hometown suddenly in the middle of the night after assaulting, with provocation, according to his own and his family's account, a local, white policeman. His pregnant wife and their small son joined him in Washington a few days later. Richard worked primarily at janitorial jobs, but occasionally tried other kinds of jobs as well. In his first several months

in the carryout area, Richard built a reputation for himself as a hard-working man who tried to do his best for his family and as an all-around nice guy. But as time wore on things changed. Richard got into several fights. In one he killed a man. People grew afraid of Richard and began to avoid him. Richard dated his troubles from the killing, but they had in fact started long, long before. This is Richard talking to me while we were just standing around in the carryout shop. He was looking for work at the time. He said, "I graduated from high school, but I don't know anything. I'm dumb. Most of the time I don't even say I graduated because then somebody asks me a question and I can't answer it and they'd think I was lying about graduating. They graduated me, but I didn't know anything. I had lousy grades, but I guess they wanted to get rid of me. I was at Margaret's house the other night and her little sister asked me to help her with her homework. She showed me some fractions and I knew right away I couldn't do them. I was ashamed, so I told her I had to go to the bathroom."

MERROW: The line between unemployment and underemployment is a fuzzy one for the men of Tally's Corner. Existence is a struggle, dignity a luxury. But what about the next group up the ladder, people who have steady work as baggage handlers, clerks, waiters? From what perspective are these "dead end" jobs?

BLAIR: What you are going to hear is an experimental format. John asked Dr. Liebow to react to a group of sound portraits of people in their working situations, portraits constructed by reporter Keith Talbot. If it's true, as Freud has written, that "Work is man's strongest tie to reality," then our experiment should provide some insights into the relationship between people and their work. First John asks Elliot Liebow to define a "dead end" job.

LIEBOW: I think in a sense maybe all jobs are "dead end" jobs. But whether or not we treat them as "dead end" jobs, whether or not the society or the individual who has it characterizes it as a "dead end" job depends on whether or not that job is self-desirable or not.

MERROW: What makes it desirable? You seem to be saying a lot of it has to do with money.

LIEBOW: I think money is very important. Certainly, a job is the main way we have of making a living. It is the main way, the principal way, that most people have of providing themselves with food and shelter. It is the main way we have of staking a claim to some of the goods and services that are offered in the society. It is the main way of finding our place in the society. The job that we have to a large extent tells us how much social status we have, determines who our social relationships will be carried out with, often determines where we live, what kind of a house we'll live in, what kind of education we'll be able to provide for our children.

The job is more than a job. It is more than a way of making a living. It is more than a way of allocating statuses and prestige in our society. Now, increasingly, the job is also a source of leisure. It is from our job that we earn our vacations. The job is a source of health care. It is from our jobs that we get insurance -- some of us are fortunate enough to get health insurance coverage. It is from our jobs that we earn our retirement pay. Jobs have come to consume almost -- not consume -- have come to be providers for all of our needs, almost, from the cradle to the grave: vacation, health care, as well as making a living.

MERROW: So you shouldn't just say a job is a dead end job simply because there isn't room to advance up a great career ladder. That seems to be what you are saying. A teacher, for example, doesn't have a career ladder. You can make more money every year, but you can't really get out of the classroom unless you leave teaching altogether and become an administrator.

LIEBOW: She may not want to get out of the classroom. Perhaps the best teachers want to remain in the classroom. They get the kind of profound satisfactions from their job that tie them to the job and they would like to stay there. Why we should consider such a job a dead end job I don't know, unless it be the fact that these are jobs that people don't want to stay in. Primarily, I think most people don't want to stay in particular jobs because they can't earn enough to support themselves and their families. But in those jobs that do pay enough to support one's self and one's dependents, we don't normally consider them dead end jobs.

MERROW: What are the jobs that are dead end jobs? What identifies them as dead end jobs?

LIEBOW: Well, characteristically they are the jobs that people put at the very bottom of the job ladder. In the past it has been things like garbage collectors.

MERROW: It's not any more?

LIEBOW: Well, it's very hard to imagine a dead end job such as garbage collection which can attract, let's say if you announce, as the City of San Francisco did a couple of years back, announce, say, 100 openings and then 3,000 men show up the night before and camp outside in the school yard in order to be in the line for those jobs. It's hard to imagine those as being dead end jobs when they are so desperately wanted by somebody.

MERROW: Now, what took that out of the category of being a dead end job?

LIEBOW: Unionizing that job and bringing the wage level up to a living wage.

MERROW: So, it's money and benefits?

LIEBOW: And job security.

MERROW: So, even though it is a dirty job ---

LIEBOW: It didn't get any cleaner. But job security and a living wage lifted, I think, that category of job out of the -- well, lifted that job out of the category of dead end jobs.

MERROW: What are some of the dead end jobs that exist now?

LIEBOW: Well, I think trash and barbage collection are still dead end jobs where they are very low-paying jobs. Janitors are dead end jobs. Typically, I think, manual labor jobs which don't pay well are the ones that we characterize as dead end jobs. Now, let me qualify that. Not just manual jobs, I would guess that for some people being a low-paid bank teller or a low-paid clerk ---

MERROW: "For some people." Why do you make it "for some people"?

LIEBOW: Well, I think that some of us would be disinclined to characterize as a bad job or dead end job any white collar job. If you went, let's say, to a very low-income group of men and women whose only jobs had been in manual labor or domestic work and you asked them what they thought about a bank teller's job, they would automatically, I think, think that that is a fine job or at least a hell of a lot better than any they have access to themselves and would perhaps not characterize it as a dead end job. For them it might be desirable because it's clean, regular working hours, maybe job security.

MERROW: It's a dead-endedness, whatever the noun would be.

LIEBOW: It might well be a relative thing.

MERROW: What does that tell a person? Time and again in your writings you use these dramatic examples of people who work full time and make $3,000 a year, when the Bureau of Labor Standards says you need $9,000 to live a minimum level of comfort for a family of four. What's the symbolic message or the direct message to someone who works full time and makes $3,000 or $4,000 a year?

LIEBOW: I think the message is very clear. The message is that that person isn't needed. The message is that whatever it is, whatever contribution that that person is making to the rest of the community, it's simply not valued enough to enable him to support himself and his family and he is being told in effect that his contribution just isn't worth a damn.

MERROW: And I guess that's the phenomenon of underemployment that you mentioned.

LIEBOW: That's one piece, I think, of underemployment. Then there are a lot of people around -- some of the estimates run as high as 5 million, maybe I should say as low as 5 million -- of people who don't look for work, who have given up looking for work. They are not counted as unemployed any more. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, the official unemployment statistics, don't count people who are not actively seeking work as being unemployed. So the underemployed would include those who work full time and don't earn a living wage, would include those who have given up looking for work, would include those who work only part-time. Part-time workers are counted as employed people. The underemployed would include part-time workers who want to work full time but can't, as well as the traditionally counted unemployed.

MERROW: Which is eight point -- what is it -- eight point nine percent?

LIEBOW: Eight and a half to nine percent; eight percent.

MERROW: So what that adds up to is a staggering picture of the way we work in a society.

LIEBOW: It might end up, I have seen figures as high as 40 percent if you count underemployed, all the underemployed, meaning all involuntary part-time workers, people who have given up looking for jobs.

MERROW: I would like to run one of these tapes by you. I don't know what will happen. I have listened to it once and found it absolutely fascinating. This is the guy who works on a Greyhound Bus. I don't know if we are going to have a problem here. All the people you are about to hear are white. Your book, "Tally's Corner" is about Blacks and underemployment, unemployment and the social patterns that result among Black

people. Now, I don't know, are there real distinctions to be made?

LIEBOW: I think there's some distinctions to be made, but I think for purposes of this particular discussion, when we are talking about jobs and the importance of jobs for people, that we can disregard the color.

MURPHY: My name is James N. Murphy, and I work for the Greyhound Corporation as a baggage clerk. I thought a lot about it after coming out of high school, about maybe going into college or what have you, but I was uncertain, you know. I didn't have anything, you know, planned for sure. I more or less -- actually nothing for sure, you might say. I finished high school in 1955 and so I just, by luck, missed the Korean War. So, at the time, you know, jobs were fairly hard to find, making as much money as you made here at Greyhound. It was, you know, fairly good pay at the time. I thought that that was the thing. So, I grabbed it and first one thing led to another and before I knew it I had over 20 years, you know, hung up into this company.

You load, unload buses, check baggage. We have, you know, regular departure buses for New York and Philadelphia, and we more or less pull the stuff, the baggage, off the buses and freight off the buses and sort it and load it aboard the out-going schedules. You run into all kinds of weird people, you know, irritable people, you know. Something happens on -- maybe the bags get rerouted or something happens, somebody gives them a hard way to go, you know, somewhere along the line, and they, you know, want to take it out on us. You are more or less getting an education out there dealing with the public.

In a lot of other departments there's a lot more pressure on you and this and that and the other. I don't know, that's one reason why I like working outside, see, because, I don't know, it's not so much pressure on you as there would be maybe working as a ticket agent or working up in an office or something, see. I'm the type of person that never could be strapped to a desk, you know. Of course, I like to be on the go all the time, see, and you more or less know what you have to do and you go ahead and do it and that's it.

LIEBOW: What's very striking, you know, if you take what he says at face value, here's a guy working loading baggage onto buses, I would guess most people would say, "Gee, that's kind of a dead end job." They would not see that as much. And here's a guy that put 20 years of his life into it and seems reasonably content with his life, with the investment he has made in it. I think that it points up, in part anyway, this business of money. The first thing he grabbed at was a job that paid at what, to him, was a decent wage. He grabbed at it, he said. He grabbed at this job because of the money that it paid and he stuck to it. He stuck to it for 20 years. He said he doesn't even know where the time has gone. And there are some things about his job quite apart from the money that he seems to actively like and enjoy. He likes working outside. I suspect a part of that means that he's not under anybody's direct supervision, being told what to do all the time, and having somebody look over your shoulder. That kind of close supervision and almost spying seems to be one of the things that most people don't like about their jobs and here he's free of that.

MERROW: He said he didn't want to be a ticket seller.

LIEBOW: He's free of that. He sees what has to be done and he goes and does it. That is, he has got a responsibility and he takes some pride in the kinds of things that he does and the decisions that he makes. So

here's a job, I think a good example of what might normally be considered dead end, which is a perfectly, to him, a perfectly satisfying job, I think mainly because or in large part because he's able to live on it. It would be interesting to know whether he's able to support a family on his wage and whether he would mind if his son wanted to be a baggage clerk or whatever -- I'm not sure what he called himself.

MERROW: What would that tell you? Suppose he says, "This job is fine for me, but I wouldn't want my son to do it."

LIEBOW: It would be important to know why he wouldn't want his son to do it. I suspect that he might think that there are other ways and better ways of making a living, that there are other ways and bett - ways of gaining more attention from other people.

MERROW: But you can live with that without thinking poorly of yourself. I mean it seems to me that would be a normal human aspiration, to want your children to somehow do better than you do. And so I could say I want my kid to do more than I'm doing without necessarily thinking badly of myself for the things I do. Isn't that true?

LIEBOW: Yes, but asking what you expect of your children or would like your children to have is a little different than asking a man whether it would be okay for his child to end up as he ended up. I think that then he's for it. If you say, "Would it bother you if your son ended up doing this job," if he didn't think badly about the job himself, for himself, I think he would be inclined to say, "No; that would be all right, but I wish that ---" and I think here's a case of a man who seems relatively content with himself and the job that he has had for most of his working life.

And we shouldn't put him down for this. I think it's too easy for people on the outside, especially middle class people, to put such a man down for being content with making a living at what is generally considered a fairly menial, low-status job.

MERROW: So, you are saying that that is wrong.

LIEBOW: Well, I don't know about wrong. I think that what happens is that we look at a man like that and we find that his own contentment and satisfaction from such a job threatens the contentment and satisfaction we have from our jobs.

MERROW: How?

LIEBOW: Well, in a sense that he doesn't put any value at all, so far as we can tell, on climbing to the top.

MERROW: And we do?

LIEBOW: Well, very clearly, middle-class people -- well, let me change that from middle-class to career-oriented people, their satisfaction, their energies, are all directed at getting higher and higher. And here's a man that seems not to have taken that into account at all.

MERROW: He must be wrong.

LIEBOW: He must be wrong because if he is right we have wasted an awful lot of time, energy, effort, and perhaps education, and put it into the wrong basket.

MERROW: But your hypothesis is that he is able to speak as he does, with some contentment and some pride, he is able to explain his job to that reporter because it is not a dead end job and it is not a dead end job because there is enough money involved.

LIEBOW: He doesn't see it as a dead end job. He sees it as a job worth having.

BLAIR: Elliot Liebow, author of "Tally's Corner." In case you joined us late, let me explain that Dr. Liebow is listening and reacting to a series of sound portraits of people at work. Does school make a difference?

Well, I work for Avis Rent-A-Car. I'm a rental sales agent. I rent cars.

TALBOT: When you were in school, what did you think you were going to do during your life?

I was going to be a teacher. I was supposedly bright. But, you know how it is, you get married and then you don't go back to school and that's that.

I do waiter work.

TALBOT: When you were in school, what did you think that you were going to be when you grew up?

Nothing, just like what I am right now, nothing.

TALBOT: You had no idea?

Well, when I was coming up people didn't pay no mind no how. They just went on to work and forgot about all this other crap and let the rocks fall the way the come because that's the way it's going to be anyhow. You might think you can force it, but you can't force it.

I work for the American Telegraph and Telephone Company.

TALBOT: So, why are you here now, at night?

I'm a Special Relief Operator.

TALBOT: I see. When you were in school, what did you think that you were going to do when you grew up?

I'll tell you the truth, I just finished the 8th grade.

TALBOT: So you never had any help deciding what your career ---

No, I made my own way.

TALBOT: How do you feel about that?

I'm great.

TALBOT: Do you think your job is what's called a "dead end" job?

Oh, no, no. Anyone, any job that you might have, you can always advance. There's always advancement if you apply yourself.

TALBOT: Do you plan to advance further?

No. They want younger people today and the older people -- they don't seem to have as much place for the older people with the years of service with the company as the young people.

TALBOT: So, that's sort of a pressure on you?

That's right.

TALBOT: That's too bad.

So, therefore, I'm not even suspecting any advancements. I've reached my goal. I've accomplished what I started out to do, so I'm satisfied and I'm happy.

MERROW: A lot went by in those.

LIEBOW: Yes.

MERROW: There's a lot in there.

LIEBOW: There is a lot. But it's kind of difficult from a little picture now, I think, to sit back and, you know, for us to sit here and then try and analyze what lies behind, what kind of feelings lie behind the words that were expressed. But it is fun doing anyway, so we might as well go ahead and do it.

MERROW: Yeah, let's go ahead and do it.

LIEBOW: That last woman was very special. You could almost hear her pride in her voice and the satisfaction with herself. I think it was the last woman that said she was great.

MERROW: Yes, right, "I'm great." She's a telephone operator who's great.

LIEBOW: Her job wasn't a dead end job at all, she said. No job is a dead end job. But she then defined "no job is a dead end job" because you can always improve yourself. And yet when she was asked if she could advance she said no. I think we can let that go. I mean, it's very clear that she was satisfied with herself, her life. She said she was happy. She said she was great. She said she'd achieved her goal. I think that that goal, whatever it was, is the kind of goal that most of us share with her, what we want to do. The goal for most people, at least the goal, what they want of their working life, is to make a living, is to support themselves, to support their families by doing a job that someone else considers useful and is willing to pay them for doing.

MERROW: I heard her differently. Maybe that's inevitable, two different sets of ears, but that she said, "You can always advance. I'm great." I heard underneath that, undercutting that was her awareness that she wasn't able to advance and that she wanted to, but that she was being passed over -- not because of her 8th grade education or because of her talent -- but simply because of her age.

LIEBOW: Yes, I think she made that very clear. But what did you think she felt about that situation? She seemed to be saying -- unless we want to go way beyond her words and it's hard to do that -- she did say that she was satisfied and that she had reached her goal.

MERROW: I don't know. I guess I was conscious of the contradiction in what she said. Maybe we all live with contradictions and that she has them balanced. On the one hand, there's the social injustice of age being a factor in advancement, and on the other hand, and in contradiction to that, is her satisfaction with the fact that she has gotten to where she is and she does have job security. She does have the kind of job that offers her dignity. And she has balanced the contradictions.

LIEBOW: I don't know that it's a contradiction. I think we all have to -- as you said -- we all live with discontents of one kind or another. I think that what she said might parallel what that baggage loader might have been thinking, that yes, it would be nice, perhaps, if you had asked them, it would be nice to have another job, a better-paying job, a more prestigious job, but in the absence of that other job he was reasonably content with what he had. And in the case of this woman here, she, too, was saying she would like to have advanced. She's being passed over, she thinks, because of her age. And that's quite possible. But even after discounting the fact that she's being passed over because of her age, she's still relatively content with her job. I'm not sure that's a contradiction. She would like to have more, but she's satisfied with what she has.

MERROW: Fair enough.

LIEBOW: And I think that may be true of a great many of us.

MERROW: Dr. Liebow, what about the waiter, the guy who said in, it seemed to me -- well, the reporter said, "What did you expect to be" and he said, "Nothing, just what I am, nothing."

LIEBOW: And also it sounded as if he were the only Black person.

MERROW: He's not Black; he's white.

LIEBOW: Oh, he was white.

MERROW: Yes. And he said a very quotable line, "Just let the rocks fall where they may." Somehow that echoed for me what you were saying earlier about people who were born into that, who are living out their inheritance, if you will. Does it strike you that way?

LIEBOW: Very much so. Here's a man that seems to be saying that he expected nothing and he got nothing. So he's not disappointed. But he clearly feels put upon, the world has singled him out and gave him rocks. I'm not sure one could say that he's content. You know, because you get what you expect doesn't necessarily make for contentment. And he still sees himself as nothing.

MERROW: Nor does it mean you deserve what you get.

LIEBOW: Nor does it mean you deserve what you get. I think he said there "I'm nothing" when he was asked.

MERROW: Well, your analysis of the society would suggest that there are a lot of people for whom that is their inheritance. You know, that the way things are set up, that if you're poor, if you're parents are poor, if you're born into poverty, that's the hand you're going to be dealt.

LIEBOW: There was one other, the woman.

MERROW: At the beginning.

LIEBOW: At the beginning, who also came into her inheritance, too. She said she wanted to be a teacher, but she got married and had a family and "you know how it is." And that's a kind of inheritance, too, that people come into, that women come into. You may have career aspirations and job aspirations, but at the same time you know that everybody expects, and you yourself expect, that what you'll end up doing is getting married, having a family and staying home. And she had to forgo the business of being a teacher. She did, and ended up being a ticket agent for -- what was it?

MERROW: Avis Rent-A-Car.

LIEBOW: Avis Rent-A-Car. I don't know that she was discontent with that, except that it did sound as if she really would like to have been a teacher and that she had been identified as an especially bright kid in school. But here she'd been diverted by marriage and homemaking.

MERROW: Which is the fate of many women.

LIEBOW: Which is the fate of many women.

MERROW: They give up a career in order to act out their social role.

LIEBOW: And the inequity of it is that we very seldom, if ever, ask men to forgo their career aspirations or job aspirations and force them to become homekeepers and child rearers, but that women are expected to do that.

MERROW: I wonder if you can, maybe based on your year on Tally's Corner and also based on listening to the sound portraits, describe what school experience for those people might have been like. Is that possible to do?

LIEBOW: Not for me. I can't imagine.

MERROW: What about the people on Tally's Corner, Richard, Tally, Sea Cat, Leroy, what did they learn in school about working, about who they were? Did they ever talk about school?

LIEBOW: No. I think it is remarkable that they don't and didn't. Most of the men I knew, it might be fair to say that they were ashamed of talking about school and education because they had so little of it. And they kind of shied away, I think, from talking about it. School was not a rewarding experience, not an especially good one, especially as they got older. I suspect that early childhood years were good ones and school may have been fun, but as they go older, say in the 5th, 6th, 7th grade, why, it turned sour for them, as it does for most kids today, I think, in inner city schools.

MERROW: The usual analysis, I think, of schools, and particularly of -- well, of schools, is that they simply reinforce; they don't tell kids new things about themselves, they reinforce what they are being told from outside. And so kids who are problems outside, having problems of some sort, have the same problems in school. And it shouldn't be that way. Somehow schools ought to--for example, the grading system ought to distribute rewards a little more equitably. But what it does is, it tells

the same people year in and year out that they are A and B students and the same people year in and year out that they are D and F, or whatever the low end of the grading spectrum is, that they are the lousy students. And sooner or later they leave school because you can only take so much of that buffeting, being told that your're worthless. Maybe it's like the dead end job kind of thing. You know, if that's accurate, if schools are part of a cycle where, you know, you come into your inheritance, how would you break it? How would you change it?

LIEBOW: Well, I have one simple-minded answer and that is this business of guaranteed jobs. I think the way in which to break this cycle is to make the prospect of having a job and being able to support yourself and your dependents not only a possibility for everybody, but a guarantee and take that anxiety and that failure out of people's lives and make it possible for them to do that. And I think then you'll break all kinds of cycles. In effect, you'll break the poverty cycle. You'll break the cycle of female-headed families. You'll break -- well, I don't know, all the kinds of things that we associate, that tend to be associated with deep poverty in our cities.

MERROW: Of course, now the pattern is one of kind of blaming the victim, William Ryan's phrase that when you look upon someone who's a failure you, we, say that person is a failure and somehow he or she must have done something to deserve it; "if you're poor, it's your fault" kind of thing. And we have enough examples of people who pull themselves up by their bootstraps so that it -- what's the right expression -- it keeps that myth alive. As long as that's accurate you won't see any change at all.

LIEBOW: Well, I think it's relatively easy to disprove the myth. We can make pretty good guesses at the time the kid is born as to what his chances are at making it in the society. If you look at a welfare kid, a kid whose family is on welfare, his chances of making it are relatively slim. That's not to say that he may not, because of some very special talent that he might have or that she might have. You look at a middle class kid and his chances of making it are one hell of a lot better.

MERROW: You used that staggering example, absolutely staggering example of that child, a six-year old or eight-year old who's run over and killed and the insurance company comes to settle with the mother. I guess the child is Black. The mother was on welfare and the insurance company offers as compensation $600 or $800. What would happen in a white middle class family if the same thing happens?

LIEBOW: Well, my understanding is that these judgments are made on an actuarial basis. Some experts come along and they make predictions as to what the probabilities are for this individual's lifetime earnings. And we end up with a very low value, then, for kids on welfare because the probabilities are very small that they are going to do well.

MERROW: And for a white, middle class kid ---

LIEBOW: Obviously the chances are much better that he's going to do very well, so therefore his life in terms of dollars and cents is worth more and the compensation to the parents for the loss of that child is a lot greater. Now, that's the kind of thing, I think, that suggests strongly that the business of "anybody who wants to make it can make it" really is a myth. If you assume average intelligence and average effort, and most of us are average -- that's what "average" means -- if you assume average intelligence, average effort, the chances are that the kid on the bottom isn't going to make it anywhere as well as the kid that comes from a middle class family.

MERROW: I'd like you to listen to our last sound portrait of somebody who has made it describing how he made it.

FLYNN: My name is Kenneth Flynn. I live in Oxon Hill, Maryland. I'm currently working for Larry Yewell Realtors, who's licensed in Maryland. When I went into the Navy I was 22, from my college situation. When I finally got my degree I was 43, and I feel really good about that. Certainly, my education, after all those years, seems complete to me, and the tremendous sense of being whole, being competitive, you know, being one of the rest of the people. If you are looking for a nice, straight continuity of education, high school, college, whatnot, your're not going to find it from me unfortunately, I guess.

My family, my mother and father, were in export. And there are aspects about this discontinuity of schooling that I could say were, you know, really nice. I got to travel. I got to know people. I got to know a little foreign language. That's all well and good. But when it came to the hard realities of, you know, my making a living or my having a career, those social experiences really didn't help me one damn bit. One of the better things I did to education myself was to opt for a course by Dr. Stanley Hyman -- and I'm not sure which university sponsors him at this time, I think it is Georgetown, but I could be wrong -- he is becoming well known. But what he essentially tells a person seeking a job is that you must become like that person, that is, the person interviewing you. And he gives you lots of sight clues to use, such as, someone who smokes, you know, may be oral. Other things, is he clean, neat, aggressive? What you have to do is educate yourself enough, and he helps you that way, to see that person and become like him. If two people are basically alike, they naturally will have an affinity. So, therefore, interviewer likes interviewee and if he likes you well enough he takes you to the next guy. Well, you've got to watch it there because the next guy may be a totally different kind of individual and you have to kind of be like the second one without giving up the groundwork you've made with the first gent.

So, the breaks in education, my traveling, probably have made me more suited to that kind of, if you will, rapid adaptation than some other things I might have done. And the ultimate result is that today in my occupation I'm helping someone else. And in doing that I'm making a pretty decent living out of it. The neatest thing that happens is when you have a person that can barely afford to buy a home, yet you're able to find one for them and you know that they're happy and then have them move in and perhaps pay them a call or bring over a bucket of chicken, you know, the day they are moving in or something, soup, whatever -- if you've ever moved from a home you know what a hassle it is -- and actually see them smile and thank you. That's where the gratification comes in, "Well, if I can do it, I hope the next one is just as much fun for me as it is for them."

Excuse me, I'm going to have to pick this up. Good afternoon, Larry Yewell Realtors. May I help you? It's on the market at $47,500. Does that sound like something you're interested in? It sounds to me like the time to buy for you is right now. All right, if you want to call back in again, please, my name is Ken Flynn. Now if you call back, to help me out, can I have your name and phone number? Well, you wouldn't get a call; it just protects me. All right. Thank you very much. I appreciate your calling.

Walter, I'm doing worse than you are. Excuse me. No name, no phone. Those are the kind of calls that make you go wild. I kind of classify that one as a nosy neighbor kind of thing. He wants to find out what the neighborhood is going to do. But whenever we work our main objective is

number one, to lock the person down. That's the way we make a living. And you lock them down in this particular company by name and phone number. The whole object is to ask your question in a manner so that you are saying, "May I help you solve a problem? I'll need this kind of information." I've got to put myself in a position where I'm helping them. Because you are relying on the people out there. You're essentially a service person. Once you've gone through the machinations of finding homes and writing contracts, then you're servicing the people.

Okay. Well, that's the reason I called you, Mrs. McDowell, because I've got to give the owners of the home advance notice before coming back in the morning; give them a chance to make the beds and stuff. Can I meet you about 10 o'clock or 10:30? Would that be all right? What's convenient for you?

LIEBOW: Another thing that comes through here that I would like to harp on once more is the big deal he made out of making a decent living, you know, when he talked about, yes, he enjoys what he does and he makes a decent living. Making a decent living is absolutely crucial, I think, to any kind of job satisfaction. The other thing that is striking is the fact that here's a guy who's no doubt as good at selling himself as he is at selling a product. He's a salesman. He's proud of it and he's good at it and he makes a decent living.

I think he perhaps makes -- my guess would be that he's not properly assessing the importance of his early background, that he's not quite -- none of us is really as much of a self-made person as we'd like to think. And I don't think he is either. I think to the degree that he's made it he probably owes a lot more to his childhood experiences, to the traveling, to the broadening experiences that he says his parents' business gave him, than he's willing to attribute to it. And here's a guy who sounds like he is happy in his work.

Also, he makes a big point, too, of the fact that he's doing something for other people. I suspect strongly that's a very important ingredient of job satisfaction for most of us. We've got to be able to see at least in part that what we are doing has a direct effect and meets an immediate need of somebody else.

MERROW: Did you hear that in the Greyhound guy? Did you get a sense that he felt that what he was doing was somehow important?

LIEBOW: I don't think he put is as explicitly as this salesman did. But I suspect if you asked him about it, I think he would see it as something very valuable.

MERROW: If we have a need to see that, then that would certainly help us find it.

LIEBOW: I don't know about a need to see it, but I think that to be satisfied with what we do, we need to see it. There are a lot of people, I think, who probably are at jobs they feel are absolutely worthless or that they might even be harmful, and they keep on at the jobs. They don't like the idea of doing something that's not especially useful, but a job is a job. I think it would be interesting to know what, you know, a well-paid fireman on a diesel train thinks about his job, the featherbedding, what the impact is of carrying out what you know is a sinecur. You know that you have a job that isn't worth doing, that nobody needs and yet you are paid well to do it anyway. It would be interesting to look at the effects of that on that individual, on his relationships with his wife or her's with her husband, the relationships with their children, with their

friends, family, because I think it's very destructive.

MERROW: In terms of contempt for yourself for what your're doing?

LIEBOW: Yes. I think it's important to feel that you are making a useful contribution.

MERROW: Turn that around a little bit, with the real estate salesman, and the contribution to him, if you will, how he got to be what he is. You said you thought he made an error in discounting his own travel and all that sort of thing. I didn't hear him say anything at all about school except that one college course he took about how to size up people and be like them. Do you suppose what happens to people in schools has a great impact on people and the kind of jobs they end up in?

LIEBOW: Well, clearly it does for professional people. You know, there are some jobs that require certification and you can only get that through formal education, in order to be a doctor or a lawyer or what have you. For working-class people generally, I don't think that it seems to make that much difference.

BLAIR: Elliot Liebow, author and anthropologist, talking about jobs and job satisfaction. He leaves us with an important question, John, about just what role schools play in sorting young people into different jobs.

MERROW: Earlier he used the phrase, "coming into your inheritance" to describe the men of Tally's Corner and the woman who wanted to be a teacher but quit school to raise a family. According to his analysis, the United States is a class society and the accident of birth largely determines how and where we end up. For the last decade, in the War on Poverty and the programs of the Great Society, schools have been used to try to prevent disadvantaged children from coming into their inheritance of a life of poverty, ignorance and indignity. There is a great debate raging right now about whether all those special school programs are making much difference.

BLAIR: It seemed to me that James O'Toole, on our first program in this series, and now Elliot Liebow, have different solutions to the problem we're looking at. O'Toole says we have to redesign many of the jobs so that they show respect for the people performing them, and he says we have to stop selling education as a guaranteed ticket to more money and a prestigious job. Education is worth it in it's own right, he stresses. Elliot Liebow, on the other hand, would like to guarantee employment, at a fair wage, to anyone who wants to work, and he'd guarantee that the jobs really need to be done.

MERROW: I find myself remembering what Dr. Liebow wrote about work. "The job of lathe operator, assembly line workers truck driver, the secretary, these tend to be dead end jobs, too, but they are not bad jobs because of it. Not everyone in our society is career-oriented. We have a large and relatively stable working class population which does not aspire to moving up a career ladder. The working man who earns a living and supports his family by doing work that everyone agrees is socially useful does not necessarily want to become a foreman or plant manager or office executive. If he is dissatisfied, it's probably because he wants more of what he has and wants to be more certain of keeping what he has, not because he wants to be something different."

BLAIR: There is some interesting research data that agrees with Liebow. Project Talent, a research project studying the aptitudes and careers of over 400,000 Americans, has found that 11 years after high school 80 percent of those studied describe their jobs as rewarding.

Only 8 percent wish they'd gone into another line of work. It's a carefully-drawn sample, which means that the results can be interpreted to represent all high school juniors and seniors in 1960. Half of those students went on to college, and half of that half actually graduated from college.

MERROW: The college dropout rate, 50 percent, is the same, but today 60 percent of the high school graduates go on to college. According to Project Talent, which is funded by the National Institute of Education, the biggest regrets of the group are that they married when they did, that they did not take more training after high school, and that they didn't go on to college. Half the group called high school either valuable or fairly useful. The other half, however, said that for them "high school was adequate at best."

BLAIR: John, I know you want to say something about schooling and jobs, but before you do, I'd like to repeat the question we asked last week. We are getting letters everyday, and we will report the results in Part Four of this series. Here's our question: When you were in school, did you plan or train for the job you now hold? We'll give you an address in a minute. John?

MERROW: Wendy, we're calling this series "Schooling and Jobs," but I'm struck by how little time we have spent talking about what happens in school. It's clear that school and labor are related. For one thing, it was only as child labor became unnecessary or undesirable that high schools came into existence. School has become society's instrument for preparing its children for life, for adult responsibilities. But whether what goes on in school has much relationship to the world outside is a very real question. The reward structure of schools is designed to encourage more and more schooling. That automatically deals a lot of young people a bad hand. For many young people high school is simply a holding pattern. For others, it represents intense competition to get on the next rung of the education ladder. And for the rest it is a consistent reminder that they are of little value.

BLAIR: Our series on Schooling and Jobs continues next week. Do send us your answer to our question, "When you were in school, did you plan or train for the job you now hold?"

MERROW: Send your answer to Options in Education, 2025 M Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., 20036. This four-part series is made possible with funds provided by the Office of Career Education of the U. S. Office of Education.

BLAIR: Their grant also allows us to distribute transcripts of the four-part series free of charge, instead of the usual 25 cents each. If you would like a set -- and only one set per person, please -- write us. If you have already sent us some money, we'll send it back. Cassettes are available, too, at $12 for the four-part Schooling and Jobs series. Here's the address again: Options in Education, 2025 M Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., 20036.

This program is produced my Midge Hart. The executive producer of Options in Education is John Merrow. I'm Wendy Blair.

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TRANSCRIPT
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OPTIONS IN EDUCATION is an electronic weekly magazine devoted to coverage of news, features, policy and people in the field of education. This transcript focuses on two conversations about career guidance and employment:

William Harwood, New Schools' Exchange 1-13

Willard Wirtz, former Secretary of Labor, author of The Boundless Resource 15-19

Reporters: John Merrow, Barbara Newman; co-host, Wendy Blair

This week's program is the third in a series of four programs on the relationship between schooling and jobs, "Can You Get There From Here?" and is available for broadcast by National Public Radio's 181 member stations the week of January 19.

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BLAIR: Options in Education is a news magazine about all the issues and ideas in education, from the abc's of pre-school to the alphabet soup of government programs. I'm Wendy Blair, and this week on Options in Education John Merrow and I continue a four-part series on schooling and jobs: "Can you Get There From Here?"

Let's take a quick look at where we have been in this series so far. On the first program James O'Toole, of the Center for the Study of the Future, described the millions of Americans who are over-educated, underemployed, and frustrated because they are finding that a college degree is no guarantee of either a job or job satisfaction. He argues that while unrealistic expectations need to be curbed, the jobs that have to be done can also be changed. On program two anthropologist Elliot Leibow spoke up for those who are not college bound, pointed to the social waste of unemployment and called for a national policy of full employment.

MERROW: This week and next we'll focus a little more sharply on the schools themselves, especially on the question of career preparations. Should the schools be training young people to do certain kinds of work? And if so, which people get trained for which jobs?

HARWOOD: Schools shape people's attitudes about work. Basically the attitude is that you have it made if you don't have to work and you have lots of material possessions and money to throw around. And being able to do something useful is a valuable thing which our schools don't particularly harp on, don't even ever mention and in fact fight against. Anyway, what I am thinking is that a lot of people who are doing work in America realize that what they are doing isn't important and a lot of people who are going to school realize that what they do in the future -- what they are looking for is not a job, but a hussle. They are not looking for work: they are looking for a way to make money and not have to work. It is a different thing than work. And what I'm saying is that schools and the general society values, which the schools only reflect, have a lot to do with why people are looking for hussle rather than work.

BLAIR: That is William Harwood of the New Schools Exchange, a clearing house for ideas and information about alternative education. Our format continues an experiment we began last week. We asked Bill Harwood to listen and then react to a series of interviews which John taped with workers in a small Ohio town. The first voice you'll hear is that of a young motel clerk who has discovered that after checking people in and out, and dusting the lobby, she has an awful lot of time on her hands.

There's some days it is, you know, super boring. But you have to make the best of it. You have to be here. This gives you a lot of time for yourself, you know. I like it, you know. I'd rather stay here than to go look for something else that paid more.

MERROW: Do you demand something from a job?

I guess just to be treated like people. I wouldn't want to be stepped on all the time around here. One day is bad enough if you have a grouchy customer. I wouldn't want it everyday, though. You can't say what you think, you know, or it wouldn't look too good on the place. You smile and grit your teeth, you know.

MERROW: When you were in school, did you think that you would be working?

Gee, that's hard to say because I was planning on being married anyway. I don't know. The first job I had before I was married and then I just had to quit it because we moved, so I didn't have much choice than to change jobs. But, you know, we live right around here. We both work around here, so we should be here for a long time.

MERROW: Did school prepare you for working?

Well, for a girl at school you either took Business or that was about it, really, because that was the most big credit-wise thing. I didn't want to go to college or anything.

MERROW: Are you using those business skills in this job?

I suppose, yes. I type some, you know, and the adding machine and all that stuff, you know, that comes in.

MERROW: Someday you may have kids and maybe they will be girl kids and they will go through school. Will you tell them anything different about working?

Just do what you like, if you don't like it, get out. Just don't force yourself to have to go and be unhappy all the time. We had a certain manager where I wouldn't want anybody to work under. But they are gone and now it is a l[illegible]fferent. But even I was thinking of moving on. I didn't want to, but s[illegible]me people you just can't get along with. I would just tell them to do what you are happy with and don't force yourself to go in just because of the money and everything.

MERROW: It sounds for you as if work is supplemental, that your husband's job comes first.

Yes, well, he makes a lot more than I do. Mine just gives us extra money for whatever, extra little goodies that we want. But here lately, you know, it is kind of rough. But what the heck, it will get better.

MERROW: You are an optimist.

You've got to be. You've got to be.

HARWOOD: Do jobs require education? I was thinking here, you've got a desk clerk in a motel and you can teach her everything she needs to know in an hour and a half. She already knows how to read and write and type. You can pre-suppose that and that she has a reasonable grasp of how to deal with people as people. But that is about all it pre-supposed. It doesn't require any particular training

The second thing I wrote down was: What does work mean to most people? I think that is what work means to most people in modern America. There are 82 million workers and probably 80 million of them do things that are just jobs, you know, you go in, they tell you what to do, it doesn't make any sense, it doesn't have anything to do with your life, you do it. If you don't like it, you can leave and get another job that doesn't have anything to do with anything.

MERROW: But she seemed reasonably satisfied, wouldn't you say?

HARWOOD: Well, sure, that is all people expect out of jobs. People don't expect a job that changes the world or does something which fulfills them internally. They expect a job which pays x amount of money and has a lot of security, she mentioned that. Security is a big word in that kind of thing.

MERROW: She said, "I'd rather stay here than look for something else. It's steady."

HARWOOD: Yes, "steady," it pays the bills, gives us extra goodies.

MERROW: We shouldn't let that woman in the motel let her go by without talking about her as a woman.

HARWOOD: Yes.

MERROW: And what the schools and perhaps the rest of society have taught her to expect from work. She said, "Well, I was planning on being married. I didn't have much choice in school. For a girl there is no choice: you take business courses."

HARWOOD: Well, she said she took business courses because she didn't want to go to college. There is several kinds of sorts that happen in college. We do what we call tracking and in some places they do it overtly and in some places they do it covertly. But basically you have the dumb class and the kids who are going to college. That is the first sort. You are either a college-prep or you're a dummy. If you're a dummy, that means that you take courses that teach you how to do a job. If you're a woman that means you take courses to be a cosmetician, you take Home Ec., you take business courses, you learn to be a nurse. I don't know. You've got x amount of choices in any public school. And they set the curriculum up to shape people into this thing. The discrimination beyond that is phenomenal.

MERROW: I think the next piece we are going to listen to, Bill, touches on and shows the beginning awareness of that man-woman kind of thing. These are two people who are working at a -- this is not an advertisement -- these are two people who are working at a local McDonalds restaurant.

How long have you been a manager of McDonalds?

Not quite two years now.

MERROW: What's particularly challenging about working in the restaurant business, the fast food business?

To me it's the people that work for us. Mostly, it is almost 90 percent high school kids. There is something different that happens everyday. There's problems every five minutes you have to help them out with or they help you out with. It's just amazing. You get a whole different insight on high school people here than the people that you see on the street.

MERROW: How is it different?

Usually the people that want to work and that have to work and they enjoy working, it is a whole new breed of people; those aren't the people you see roaming the campus. The people that want to work are really good solid basic people that are going to go on to college or they

are going to take over their Dad's business or they are going on in the restaurant business and they really enjoy working. And I enjoy working with them.

MERROW: So you're getting a different perspective on young people?

Oh, yes. My opinion of young people has done a 180 degree turn around in the last two years.

We all do the same job and we have fun at it. We all do the same things. We greet our customers. We fill their orders and take their money and have a nice day. Most of the guys I know now work. I wouldn't know of any that didn't. I mean, you know, I think now that working is just part of a teenager's life. It's something that they do just naturally, like something, you know, they were grown up to do. Working is a part of their teenage life.

MERROW: That is true for you also?

Yes, it is.

MERROW: Is this your first job?

No, it isn't. It is my third job.

MERROW: That noise in the background was the French fries. When you go back to school, do you talk at all in any academic situations about working?

Yes, in business classes, like Typing, Record Keeping, General Business, things like this.

MERROW: There is a young woman in the motel down the street who looks back bitterly, I would say bitterly, on her high school experiences -- I don't know if it was a local high school -- and the corner she was pushed into just taking business courses and the dead-end job she has gotten into. Do you have any fear that that might happen to you?

Well, not really, because I don't take business courses anymore. I had enough of that from just my ninth and tenth grade years. Really, that is about the only thing you can take unless you're in some type of after-school club or something that gets into things deeper. But it is not, an academic club is nothing for school credit. And Business is about the only thing you can go into instead of Arts or Music or something like that.

MERROW: What do you think will happen to you after high school? What do you think you'll do?

I am planning on going to college. I hope that's what's going to happen to me.

MERROW: Why? What do you think you'll do after college?

Well, I want to go into the nursing field. About the only thing I can take right now in high school is Psychology, Sociology, Chemistry, Science and things like that that will prep me for college. But it won't prep me for a job right after school.

MERROW: So you are waitressing your way, you are whiling away your time serving one of the 17 billion McDonalds.

Yeah, but it's fun. I enjoy the work.

MERROW: That is important. Thank you very much.

Thank you.

MERROW: A waitress at McDonalds.

HARWOOD: The difference that strikes me about those two women is their activity level. One of them sits in a motel and x number of people come in. But I mean out of an eight-hour shift she probably works 45 minutes or an hour. And I would guess that when she goes home she watches TV and she has a lot of time to sort of sit around and think about things. The other one gets up at 7:00 in the morning, goes to high school, does her courses, gets out of school, goes to work at McDonalds, gets out of McDonalds, does her homework and goes to sleep. And it is fairly obvious that being active is stimulating and that being active also keeps you from realizing the shape of the position you've gotten yourself into in the world.

MERROW: According to the manager and according to the waitress, the kids who were working there were college-bound kids. The girl said, "Working is part of a teenager's life." But McDonalds was having people who in fact were passing the time. That girl, hopefully anyway, wasn't learning skills that she's going to use later on; she was making some money. What about the kids who aren't college-bound? I wonder what kind of jobs they had while they were in school.

HARWOOD: First of all, I don't want to skip over the point of college-bound and assume it means anything in particular. There is a nice book called, "The Great Training Robbery." It documents very concisely the fact that education doesn't necessarily mean that you'll make more money, that you'll have a better job, that you'll do more productive work or anything else. After the Lyndon Johnson era, the HEW, social services development, it has been possible for all American boys to go to college and all American girls, too. This has been done through a tremendous amount of financial aid.

The point of all this story is that all of those people who went to college don't necessarily, number one, find their education any more relevant to their lives than the people who have been to high school; and number two, do any better at making money than the people who don't. But, okay, you're right, we sort out the kids, those who are going to college and the dummies. And what happens to the dummies? Well, lots of things happen to the dummies. They get jobs in construction crews, factories.

MERROW: The point ought to be made though, I mean you're making the point, that schools have a structure where they are set up to do best for the kids who are theoretically going on to more schooling. Schooling prepares you for more schooling. And you drop out along the way. You are sorted out in a negative kind of way. There isn't a point in school where someone can choose or a choice is made that you are going to go in a vocational direction and that's good or you're going to go in a college direction and that's good. It is not done that way. If you're good you get to go on to more and more school.

HARWOOD: Right.

MERROW: I think in the first program in this series, talking about the phenomenon of underemployment, the extent to which people are coming out of college and discovering that in fact there aren't the kind of jobs waiting for them that they'd been led to believe would be there, and there is a real kind of backlash of awareness and even resentment.

HARWOOD: And there is also tens of millions of people who have big college loans to pay off and realize that they wasted four, six, or seven years of their lives doing things which never made any sense to them on the presupposition that they would get these good jobs which now apparently do not exist. We have a million and a half people with teaching degrees who can't find jobs and are looking for jobs, according to one study.

MERROW: Maybe schools would do better if they simply, if they could prepare all of us to read, write and work with numbers and not stress certain kinds of job training or not worry so much about sorting all of us. The further I get into this, Bill, the murkier I get.

HARWOOD: Well, I think that what the schools should concentrate on doing is giving people a sense of their own history, skills in reading, writing, arithmetic, et cetera, and their own history should include how they fit into the human race. It should give them things that we don't consider adequate, of adequate importance to people's lives, which will be cultural and artistic. It should give people a sense of music, a sense of art, a sense of themselves as something else besides a person who performs a function, you know, a machine. It should also give people the kind of hard skills that prepare them for specialized jobs.

MERROW: Like what?

HARWOOD: But in a general context. Say you want someone to be a chemist, you have to teach them chemistry. You don't have to teach them how to write a PhD. about chemistry; you have to teach them how to work with chemistry. But if I was Dow Chemical and I wanted to hire someone who was a chemist, it doesn't make any difference to me whether he has a PhD. in Chemistry. I can take him down to the lab and find out in ten minutes whether he knows anything about chemistry, I mean, mix me up some asprin. There is no problem whatsoever in testing whether a person knows something if you really have a job for him to do that requires that. And at the same time you can probably teach them to particularize things that they need to do to work in your thing, just as you go along what they call on-the-job training or in a short training course or periodic short training courses.

So what I think the schools should probably do is get out of the work bag completely and concentrate on what we used to call general liberal education, that is giving the person a grasp of what this world is like and how they fit into it. And you might have a course in vocational preparation. But I think that primarily that job should be put back on industry and back on the world and we should concentrate on developing a whole person in our schools and not training workers.

MERROW: That whole person, of course, has to know that he or she is going to work and what to expect from work, what kind of demands.

HARWOOD: In the course of a conversation about what goes on in the world and what you need to be able to do and think about in a liberal education, that comes up.

MERROW: It comes up in this next piece, too. We have a father and a son who are both talking about jobs and particularly the son, worrying about his own future.

How long have you been manager of this gas station?

Four years.

MERROW: What did you do before that?

Excavating. It's good work but I just wanted to get out of it because, just like anything else, I just wanted to get into something like this here.

MERROW: Why?

Oh, I like to be around the public, deal with the public, really, mainly. That is the main reason. You know, you just got to know how to take people, I guess. I mean it is just something that is born in you, I guess. I don't know how to explain it really. It is just to understand people.

MERROW: Did you have to go to school to qualify to be a manager of a gas station?

Yes. It takes about a month of schooling.

MERROW: What did they teach you? What did they tell you?

Bookkeeping the first two weeks and the second two weeks a little bit of TBA and salesman.

MERROW: You'd better tell us what TBA is.

TBA is tires, batteries, and accessories.

MERROW: How about kids? Do you have kids of your own?

Yes.

MERROW: Do you ever talk about work to them?

Not really, not to really get down and talk to them about it, no.

MERROW: Do you suppose kids growing up today have any better idea about what work means than you did when you were a kid?

Kids today, I don't think, really know what it is to, you know, what it is now to work and what it was back then. It is a lot harder now because there is not as many jobs.

MERROW: Do you think kids ought to be prepared better in someway for changing jobs, for the fact that life is complicated?

Yeah, I think a person ought to know, you know, at least, I would say, at least three or four different skills, really. It is like me, if something would happen here I can always go back to excavating or I can go back into contracting work. That is what my Dad was in for 35 years.

MERROW: How about your kids? Are they acquiring skills in school?

I've got one right there, a stepson right there. He's trying to learn this here. Like I say, they ought to know at least three or four different things, you know, in order to get by in this world today. Because it's rough. I think we all know that.

MERROW: Do you think the schools are doing that?

No, not really. I don't think they are. They are just preparing them, just, you know, if you can go out and get a job, get it, you know. But I don't think they are really what you call preparing the kids for it, no.

MERROW: And this is the stepson you just referred to. I guess you're a trainee here.

Yes, I am just learning, trying to learn a little bit about cars and stuff.

MERROW: And you're in school still?

Yeah, I am a senior at Hayes.

MERROW: What do you think you'll do when you finish high school?

I'll probably stay here and learn as much as I can. I don't know after that. I might go to technical school or something.

MERROW: How about your buddies in school?

As far as what kind of jobs they are looking for, a lot of them are working at gas stations, at least most of my friends are. I know a lot have to do with cars. Really, that is about the thing to get into.

MERROW: You are 17 now? Do you have any sense of what you will be doing when you're 50?

Well, hopefully, I would like to get into recording.

MERROW: What kind of recording?

Oh, just producing, maybe, or something like that.

MERROW: What makes you want to do that?

I like music a lot, a whole lot. That doesn't have anything to do with gas stations or anything, but that's just like a hope or something.

MERROW: Well, do you have any training along those lines?

Not too much. I'm in a band but, you know, it is not anything with producing. Well, it is producing sort of, but not recording or

anything like that.

MERROW: So that is a lot of learning on your own?

Yeah.

MERROW: A lot of the adults I've talked to indicated that basically they've sort of backed into careers. They haven't walked into things with their eyes open and firmly set on their goal, but they've ended up doing something and have backed out of that into something else. And there is a whole series of accidents. Are you prepared for that kind of life?

Well, I'm not really prepared for it, but how can I stop it? That is going to happen to just about everybody probably sooner or later.

MERROW: Maybe it doesn't have to happen. Maybe there could be a way in high school that kids could be prepared for finding out who they are, finding out what their real values are, and making some kind of career choices on that basis.

Yeah, that's possible but I don't know, especially kids nowadays, they don't really plan, you know, they don't plan. Really. They just go to school and whatever becomes of it becomes of it. They don't really know. I know I am just hoping that it will turn out for the best. I am starting to worry now because I'm at that age, you know, where you want to get something that's going to pay good, that is going to give you good skills. But you never know. I'm hoping. I'm hoping for this. Mechanics get paid really good money.

MERROW: Do you enjoy this?

Yes, I do.

MERROW: What do you like about it?

Oh, just about everything. The only thing I don't like is cleaning up.

MERROW: You only have to do that once a day.

Yes, just at closing.

HARWOOD: Well, that was a much more interesting tape. There you have a fellow who has quite an active mind. For some reason he's fairly well aware of his situation and his future possibilities which are dim and chancy. He has a real developed personal interest in music which he is aware that the educational system in the society have no interest whatsoever in helping him develop.

On the one hand, he was quite clear that in his own situation where he did have an aim and he was a future-oriented person and he was fairly aware of what was going on and definitely a practical kind of person, there was no way for him to affect the process. He had a feeling of helplessness. It was clear that him as a kid wasn't going to do anything about this big system. You know, it just was going to happen to everybody. That's one of the things he said. But when you suggested that the school might be relevant to his interests and might change to meet the

interesting patterns of kids, he said, "Well, I think kids just don't plan today." That is one thing we have been trained to do. He didn't say, well, the principal doesn't or the school board doesn't or the teachers don't, or the State U. doesn't. He said, "the kids." That was a very subtle little shift there. What I'm saying is that we have to assess what the schools or any institution can or can't do for us and what is the responsibility of the family and what's the responsibility of the state, and we have to clarify those things.

MERROW: That father we just heard said he felt the schools should be, that kids should learn three or four trades so that they'll be prepared because it is a rough world. Well, it strikes me on its face that it is not possible for a school to teach me or you or anybody else three or four trades by the end of high school.

HARWOOD: I don't believe that. I think it would be possible to teach kids quite a number of vocations by the end of high school.

MERROW: Within school?

HARWOOD: Well, not within the school building in a classroom. I don't think you can learn how to do anything in particular in a school classroom. But, by the time I finished school now--I was born on a farm. I was a pretty good farmer by the time I was 12 years old. I also, incidentally, picked up pretty good skills at mechanics. I knew how to weld. I knew how to operate almost any machine.

MERROW: You are not telling me you learned those in school, though.

HARWOOD: No, I learned them out of school. But what I'm saying is that if you address the school program to the idea of learning how to do useful trades, it wouldn't be any trouble at all to take the existing resources and the existing teachers and address them to that thing and teach kids a half a dozen trades by the time they finished high school and they could have some work experience on each one. It is amazing what you can learn on a job as a carpenter's apprentice in six months, especially if you're backed up by the shop teacher at school who's teaching kids to operate machinery, who's teaching them the theoretical basis, who's teaching them about materials, who's teaching them the theoretical basis, drawing. It is absolutely amazing what you can teach any kid in a six month or a year period. You could take, say, one vocation a year. If that was the aim of the schools, I think they could do that.

What I'm saying is that we have to have a focus about what the school can do and if that focus suited that particular community or that particular father or that particular kid, I think the school could fulfill that function fine.

Take the question of reading a book. If you pick up a book that is something that you are interested in, you read it, right? I remember one time sitting in a Baker's Dozen Restaurant in a college town and a guy was reading this book and it was like 2:00 in the morning, you know. He was reading this book. He said, "You know, Bill, I have been reading this book for a day and a half. Every chance I get I open this book and read it. If the teacher told me to read it, I'd throw it in a trash can." When something grows organically out of your interest and you feel like you really want to do it, it's easy. When somebody assigns you to do it, it

is work.

MERROW: Okay, I won't argue with that. But aren't you doing the same kind of thing that you are accusing colleges of doing, and I accuse colleges of doing, that is creating false expectations in people? If you go around saying, somehow implying that the best kind of job is the thing you love to do, that is not going to be possible. If there are 82 million workers in this country, for 70 million of them they are not going to have jobs that are interesting and challenging and exciting.

I think you can pretty well establish that people want something from their jobs beside that. They want a steady job. They want some kind of job security. They want to be paid a living wage. They want some sense that it is important work, that they are not just moving a pile of bricks from one side of the room to the other side of the room. They also perhaps want a pension when they are finished. They want health care. But I don't think it's fair to somehow condition a whole lot of young people that they don't have a good job unless that job turns them on.

HARWOOD: Well, see, I think that is bloody nonsense. I think that the kind of things that people want to do are coupled with what needs to be done in this society. And the kind of concerns you brought up about jobs are concerns that all people have. You need a certain amount of money to exist in this society. You need a reasonably sane working situation. You need to know that when you're old the society won't discard you. That is a major concern, but that has nothing to do with what you actually do. If people put in an honest day's work doing something that's useful they should be paid the same as everybody else.

That shouldn't be a primary concern. What should be a primary concern is, well, in this case the fellow was interested in music and he wanted to do production work. We have lots of people doing production work. And that's something that he could do. I would guess that he would be more happy as an individual and have more sense of his own ability to --

MERROW: That is not the question. The question is are you going to make him unhappy by this kind of argument, if in fact he ends up as a mechanic?

HARWOOD: Well, the way the society sorts people and pegs people is a problem. What I am talking about is a way you could improve that problem. There are people who like mechanics. I mean that is just a fact of life. There are people who like to do a lot of things. I would guess that if you had a more natural sorting process and a more natural educational process, that the work would get done.

I mean, you just have to look at things like, look at existing communes, that is groups of sophisticated white, middle class people who have gone out into the country or into the city somewhere and decided to live self-sufficient lives. If you look at that experience, you'll find that if they do a consentual decision-making process about labor and they let people choose jobs that they like to do out of what's available, 80 or 90 percent of the jobs are taken care of automatically. It isn't that the massive amount of the work doesn't need to be done. If we've got a massive amount of work that nobody wants to do, I would guess that the work, number one, doesn't really need to be done, and number two, if it were kind of

worked around in a different way, might become something that people would want to do.

But I would guess that's the problem, not that we have to somehow shove people into the existing roles and make them like it and if we raise their expectations that they should be able to do something that makes sense to them, that we are somehow making a failure out of their lives. I would guess that that ought to be a real strong aim among people, to find something that they think is valuable and enjoy doing, to do as a job.

MERROW: And it's in the schools that those expectations ought to be nurtured.

HARWOOD: This business of sorting the school out from everything else that goes on in the world, I would guess that television is a more powerful educational influence than the school, just for instance. And I would guess that, I don't know, 75 or 80 percent of the education of the average person takes place outside the school.

Sure, the school does this and the school does that and so does the rest of society and so does television, so does the church, so does a lot of things. But you can't really sort it out and say the school does it. The school only reflects societal values, the way I see it. You know, basically, it is like Richard Nixon, you get the kind of President that you want and when you get tired of him, you get rid of him. That's just the fact of life.

MERROW: I wonder if you're implying that somehow it's time that we either got rid of schools or really redesign them radically.

HARWOOD: Well, see, that is what I am saying. Schools grew up. They started in ancient Greece about 2,500 years ago and then they were sort of imported here from Europe. And they served a certain function in a certain context and they have outlived their usefulness. There's still a role for the schools and there are still things that institutional structures can do for us to aid us in raising our children.

Another thing, you see, is that we think about schools as pertaining only to young people. I think that we need to set up educational structures which are available to everyone in a community through their whole lives and address their major work, recreational, and intellectual needs, you know, and that are non-age specific. Eighty-year old people sometimes want to learn how to keep books or work on their cars just the same as 12-year old kids do. We bag it all into these little structures and if you're not 12 years old, haven't passed the fifth grade, don't live in the district, et cetera, you can't get in.

You know, that is it. People don't seem to fit into the structures that we've made. And the structures that we've made don't seem to produce the kind of educational products that we want, that is the people aren't particularly happy with their educations. Their educations don't particularly suit them to do the work that we seem to need done. It just doesn't work. I think we need to rethink the whole set of assumptions.

MERROW: And you can't ask the structures to rethink and you can't ask the structures to ask the question of whether they should exist.

HARWOOD: No. The structures like things just about like they are.

I mean the people who are working within the schools are pretty much trying to keep them going the way they are going. They understand that system. They understand the pay scales and the unions and the buildings. They are pretty well locked into their set of operating policies. I don't think change is going to come from either inside the schools or inside the colleges of education. They have too much invested in the present system.

BLAIR: William Harwood of the New Schools Exchange. This clearinghouse for ideas in alternative education is run by Harwood, his wife Grace, and a number of other people from their farm in Pettigrew, Arkansas. Their farm, like the New Schools Exchange, is a communal operation.

MORROW: And I suppose that his observations about sharing work responsibilities grow out of his own experience there. But we should point out that most research about intentional communities indicates that these groups usually break up and disappear within a few years. So, attractive as that argument for work sharing may sound, I'm afraid that it wouldn't wash with corporate or government efficiency experts.

Bill raises another interesting point about the tracking or grouping of dumb kids and smart kids. The research indicates that sorting is not only on the basis of high or low achievement. In fact, 40 percent of the scholastically unsuccessful but well-to-do high school kids go on to college. While only 10 percent of the scholastically and economically poor students enter college.

BLAIR: That young McDonalds waitress said that working is part of a teenager's life and that seems to be born out by the numbers of kids holding down part-time jobs and going to school. Whether part-time work has any affect, beneficial or otherwise, on performance in school is something we know very little about. But part-time work unquestionably does influence subsequent career choices, either because people get accustomed to doing what they are already doing or they learn that that particular job is not for them.

This question of how people make career choices is just one of the concerns addressed in a new book by former Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz. In "The Boundless Resource," Wirtz suggests that young workers who enter the job market each year might have more success if they had better information about possible options and if their career counselling were more realistic and more personal. NPR reporter Barbara Newman asks Wirtz what prompted him to turn his attention to the problems of education and work.

WIRTZ: I suppose a couple of things, most particularly the realization, and I suspect as much as a parent as anything else the realization that I think we are only about a year and a half away now from another showdown, if you will, between the generations. We are training all these kids. They are working their heads off on more sharply and sharply defined objectives and what we know and haven't told them yet is that a lot of those opportunities simply aren't going to be there. We have got to start doing something about that.

NEWMAN: Well, there are different problems of attrition and expectations. One is of people who are in high school who expect to go into trades and others in college who expect to go into professions. The job market for both is shrinking.

WIRTZ: Yes. When we started the book unemployment was only about

five percent. It has almost doubled since that time. We had to change gears in the middle of what we were doing, realizing that it's just an awful mistake to hold out prospects which aren't there. And so there is the question, not just whether there are going to be jobs for the kids, but whether there are going to be jobs for enough people in this country. I don't think there will be unless we change both our approach to the relationship of education and work and probably our whole idea of growth.

I guess I don't think that this country is ever going to be fully employed again as long as we hold with the old gross national product as the measure of what we are up to. We are going to have to find a new meaning of growth and the point of the title of the book, "The Boundless Resource" is that although we may be running out of natural resources in this country and in the world, there is one infinite resource, that is the human resource. And if we can more fully develop and use the talents that are inside people, if we can start thinking more about the quality of life than about these things that "grossest" national product measures, then I think we find the prospect for limitless growth and for real full employment.

NEWMAN: How do we do that?

WIRTZ: It's not going to be easy. It would have been so much easier to write this book if there were a single law to be proposed or something that the nation could do through the federal government. I don't think there is. We have come to the conclusion that the only honest answer as far as these questions are concerned is to start back at the local community, if you will, to start dealing with these problems on a smaller scale in terms that we in our own communities can handle, to find out what people there can do, what needs to be done in those communities, and then to start working from those smaller accomplishment toward some broader policy.

NEWMAN: What are we going to educate people for? You know, given a shrinking base of jobs, both professional and blue collar, I guess that is my question -- and how are we going to educate them for them and who shall we educate? Who shall we select?

WIRTZ: Those are fair questions, and the answers are hard answers. So let's just start with two or three specifics. Let's start first with the fact that we are wasting right now billions and billions of dollars in this country by not tying education and work in together. Let's talk about some of the specific elements in that.

Let's talk about the cost to which we are going right now to train people for things that aren't going to be there. Let's just take that cost, that present cost, and start using part of it to identify what in every community can be done and needs to be done. It is what the economists call structural unemployment. But to a considerable extent these things can be done on a transfer of present cost basis.

But let me take a more drastic illustration. Everytime we make a mistake as far as one of these kids is concerned with the result that either he or she goes out unprepared for something or other, we have tried to figure the costs to the community of that one mistake. It is probably in the neighborhood of $150,000 per mistake. I mean in the institutional costs that result from that. I mean in dope, in drugs and in that kind of thing. We have got to start looking at some of those specifics.

NEWMAN: Well, you are proposing that we structure, we plan ahead as to what jobs will exist and where the opportunities will be and then prepare people for those jobs. How are you going to pick who gets into what?

WIRTZ: I don't think we can pick. It is just against our nature to line up a bunch of priorities of that kind. What we can do is just make it perfectly clear to all of them what the prospects are and then let them make those decisions. It would be possible in every community in this country to say pretty clearly what the prospects are in various occupations in this community over the next five year period. I would not pick and choose. I would simply provide that information and then let those individuals shape their training and educational careers around those prospects. They've got pretty good sense if they just know the facts.

NEWMAN: What about the surfeit of people going to college? Statistics say now there are ten million people in college and university and by 1990 only 20 percent of the jobs will require college training. What do we do about that?

WIRTZ: Well, we have got to make a pretty hard choice on that. First, I think we've got to ask ourselves how many of these kids are going to college just because we as parents are so insistent that they get something that some of us didn't have. There are a lot of them who would much rather not follow that course and who are being forced into it simply as a kind of reflection of a status aspiration on the part of parents. So I would stop that kind of thing. I would recognize, too, that it very well may be that that college education is going to be important for other than the performance of specific jobs.

I suppose there isn't any question but that we are perhaps, in our emphasis on vocational education, emphasizing the job training element too much. It is a nice prospect that a person might be what we have called a blue collar worker and still enjoy all the advantages that come from a general education. But I think we've got to stop this almost blind insistence that everybody ought to go on to college.

NEWMAN: I was going to ask you that in terms of you say that we have to train people for meaningful jobs, jobs that do exist, and tailor education much more to the work place. But what is the function of education in terms of instilling some values in people?

WIRTZ: Well, it goes a good deal beyond. The function of education is obviously a good deal more than training them just for work. We have started talking about two worlds of education and work. Well, there is really only one world. It ought to be called life. And we ought to start fitting these things together. We have got to start directing more of our education at the improvement of leisure and these other things.

So it would be the worse mistake to think that the only purpose of education is to prepare for work. I think of education as a value in itself, of learning as a value in itself. We've got to think in those terms. That is the important distinction between this phrase "career education" and "vocational education". I've great trouble with the concept of vocational education as such. There seems to be a much larger attraction in a fuller recognition that part of the purpose of education is training for a whole career, which includes work as an important part of it, but

also includes the improvement of leisure.

NEWMAN: Boy, with these proposals you are going to have to get rid of most of the teachers. You are going to have to educate people to teach in a whole different way.

WIRTZ: Well, those are two different things. No, I don't think it involves getting rid of teachers. To the contrary, as we envisage the larger role of education, particularly in connection with the adult experience, it ought to mean a good deal more education. But on the second part of your point as to whether it will mean a different kind of teaching, by all means, yes.

Drawing on some 25 years of teaching myself, I expect that I feel that there is going to have to be a very real change in teachers' orientation toward the purpose of education. We just don't realize how much we got into the habit of making so much of education just training for more education, for college and then for graduate school. Yes, I think it does mean a very marked change in a recognition of the function of teaching.

I've seen the bureaucracies now of government, of corporation and of teaching. I'm under no illusions about the inertial forces in the educational system. It does seem to me that, particularly at the high school level, there is an inertial professional force there that is tied in with the credentialing, which would be the worse mistake to take into account. But I believe both the prospects of larger accomplishment and the pressures of present circumstance are going to make the teachers of this country quite willing to think along lines which tie education and work more closely together.

NEWMAN: If you were a teacher now, addressing a class, could you assume that role and talk to the students and say, in terms of what they should expect from life, in terms of the integration of education and employment, and also what they should expect on the job market and in terms of leisure?

WIRTZ: I guess I would suggest to them first that it is necessary to think in terms of the immediate necessity of earning a living. But I would move pretty fast past that. I would urge them first to buckle down to the preparation of themselves for particular occupations, but then I'd move pretty quickly to going on beyond that.

I'd tell them they'd better learn how to read and they'd better learn how to write, and they'd better learn how to add and subtract and multiply. I would tell them that we are worried about the fact that these college aptitude scores are going on down all the time. They are not buckling down to it. I guess I would try to say two things to them. One is: for gosh sake get ready for this pretty tough prospect that faces us. Realize that we don't know where about ten million jobs that we are going to need are coming from. Take all of that into account, but for the love of Pete, make something of your life beyond just what the job is going to be.

NEWMAN: I hate to put myself in this position. But do you feel at all quixotic about this?

WIRTZ: Quixotic, no; idealistic, yes. I guess I think it is high time that we start moving in this country toward a politics of idealism

of one sort or another that does set out the broader purpose we have in mind. But if your question implies, as it does, and very properly, that it is going to be a very tough piece of business, with the country down in the mouth and with the economy in bad shape, to improve any single part of the whole process, that is right. If your question implies, as it should, that it's going to be very hard to do this at a local community level, that is right. It is so much easier to do things or to talk about things on a national level.

NEWMAN: You know, I just keep thinking about my experiences with very bright people who were blue collar workers, who got married very young and went on assembly lines because that's where they made the most money, $15,000. They were 19 years old and they had kids already. They were frustrated, you know, that feeling of almost going out of your skin, but they had obligations and they just couldn't do it.

You, in your book, talk about the unemployment statistics between people in the 16 to 21-year old categories as 20 percent and for Black people it's 40 percent. These are people who aren't having jobs, who have very little to look forward to. The job market is shrinking at least right now. How are they going to think in terms of spiritual renovation and planning for a quality life in education?

WIRTZ: Well, you go very directly to the heart of this whole problem and so insistently that it is very hard to put down the suggestion of asking what you would do about it in the alternative. Now that is not a fair answer, except as it reflects this fact, that unless we are ready to give up, unless we are willing to admit that there are limits to growth, that there are always going to be this many unemployed people around, we've got to try to find some hard answers. I almost have to bite my tongue to keep from offering the easy answer. That easy answer would be for the government to create another million jobs a year, the government as the employer of last resort.

In my book, to talk along those lines, is to talk about taking a shortcut across quicksand. It's simply absurd that both the administration and the opposition in the federal government today are talking solely in those terms. I don't know whether it's going to be possible to find another form of growth in this country that is based on the development of the natural resources in the fuller use. I don't know. I know that if there isn't that answer then we have had it. I refuse to separate those possibilities. So I find in the prospect of people in local communities taking the problems as they are presented there and dealing with their own children and their own families, we will find answers that aren't available in any other terms. But if the question is whether there is any certitude about this answer, there is not.

NEWMAN: Now suppose we do have certain, let's call it underclass or unemployed population and increasing technology means that people with certain limited skills, technocrats, will be given more power and the job market will be shrinking as technology proceeds, you said before if we don't do something about these people in improving their lot, we have had it. Why have we had it? Why won't we just have people who are just not as lucky as other people?

WIRTZ: If I understand what you are saying, you are saying why don't

we just settle for about ten million unemployed people a year?

NEWMAN: Yes.

WIRTZ: No, I don't think we can do that. Perhaps we will be forced to. I don't believe it. I think it is just contrary to everything that's in us. The fact that I can't find a patented answer in easy form for it doesn't dissuade me from the course of trying to look for one. I believe that unless we grow we die, either as individuals or as a society. So, I can't settle for ten million people out of work or twenty million.

NEWMAN: Philosophically, right, morally?

WIRTZ: No, no, practically.

NEWMAN: Why practically?

WIRTZ: Look, all it would take would be a war and then all the questions you have asked would be automatically answered. We would find the money for war. There would be full employment. All those things would work as they always have before. I just believe that we've got the genius in us to recognize the crisis and the demands on us in some form other than that. I simply think that if we set out to do affirmatively the things we need to do in this country, we would find the same answers that we do whenever a war pressures us to those.

NEWMAN: Well, what we really have to do to enact your scenario in terms of matching people with employment is to have some kind of very good statistical compilation and projection of where the jobs are going to be.

WIRTZ: That won't be enough, but I'd sure start from there. Because there are lots of situations and lots of communities in this country, especially if you include services of kinds other than those which we have previously recognized, that are very much in need of doing. And so the statistical base, the measurements base is an important one. But I'm under no illusion that simply getting better figures is going to mean an increase of ten million jobs.

NEWMAN: No, I'm just trying to say if you're going to fill them you have to know where they are.

WIRTZ: That is right. That is important starting point.

NEWMAN: The second thing is: you say that you wouldn't channel people into jobs specifically. You would tell them, look, we have an X quota here. But you still might have too many people of free-will voluntarily going into the wrong areas.

WIRTZ: Yes, you may. There are other economies in other countries in which they do precisely what is suggested by the question, in which they simply direct particular people along specific routes. It's against our nature to do that. That carries planning further than we are willing to do it. In making that choice, it is fairly easy for me to say that if we simply provide full information, that is about as far as we can go. I would not like the idea of the government saying that my son or daughter

is to be trained to follow a particular course. But I'd like not to lose the first part of that question. It is just absolutely imperative that we do no grading of opportunities according to previous condition of parents, servitude or disadvantageor something of that kind.

NEWMAN: But that's even, without even writing that out, guidance counselors kind of psychologically predestine people into those tracks.

WIRTZ: Yes, the present guidance and counseling thing is terribly wrong. Of course, it used to be done by the family. About 20 years ago the family opted out. Not it's being done by high school guidance counselors who had their experience in preparing and sending kids on to college. There is just almost no career guidance and counseling at the high school level today.

NEWMAN: But then again you wonder. You say the function of schools should be to educate people for life and to have a closer relationship with employment and you look at some studies done by people like Christopher Jencks and he says that you can't even tell what makes a good school and then other people like Coleman say that it's the family that's the predeterminant of educational success. It is hard to figure out really what the schools should do.

WIRTZ: Yes. I don't think the school can do it alone. I do think that the role of the family, which used to be so important, has diminished in importance and should be restored. But my reaction to that would be that to whatever extent Christopher Jencks and Jim Coleman are right, that there isn't anything that the schools alone can do about it. That only increases the necessity of developing at the local community level some form of structure which permits the public, if you will, the parents and so forth, to get back into the picture. My answer would be, in response to your question, that only part of this can be done by the schools. I think we are going to find the necessity of redeveloping the whole idea of local communities because I do think it's a job which neither the kids nor the schools can meet alone.

NEWMAN: Thank you very much, Willard Wirtz, former Secretary of the United States Department of Labor and author of a new book, "The Boundless Resource." I'm Barbara Newman.

BLAIR: Wirtz's book, "The Boundless Resource" calls for the creation of community education counseling in 25 places around the country, so that local people can devise work-education programs. Students would be required to take at least five hours a year of career counseling and adults would be encouraged to make more use of the schools. One option suggested is that students might take a year or two off for work between the ages of 16 and 20.

MERROW: Bill Harwood of the New Schools Exchange, and now Willard Wirtz, are coming at this complex issue from totally different perspectives, and yet they share some common ideas -- like the importance of community, the powerful inertial force of bureaucracy, and the impossibility of schools fixing things by themselves. Wirtz used the expression, "career education", a relatively new approach to closing the work-education gap.

Next week we'll talk to several teachers who are trying to make young people aware of career opportunities and work responsibilities. I'll also talk with Walter Davis, education director of the AFL-CIO and Paul Barton, executive director of the National Manpower Institute. And we

may even venture a few solutions to our own question: "Schooling and Jobs -- Can You Get There from Here?"

BLAIR: This four-part series is made possible in part with funds provided by the Office of Career Education of the U. S. Office of Education. Their grant also allows us to distribute transcripts of this series free, rather than for the usual 25 cents. If you would like a set, please write us. Cassettes are also available at $4.00 or $12.00 for the set of four cassettes. Our address: Options in Education, 2025 M. Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C., 20036. That address again: Options in Education, 2025 M. (as in mother) Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C., 20036.

This program is produced by Midge Hart. The executive producer of Options in Education is John Merrow. I'm Wendy Blair.

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TRANSCRIPT
WEEK OF JANUARY 26, 1976

OPTIONS IN EDUCATION is an electronic weekly magazine devoted to coverage of news, features, policy and people in the field of education. This transcript focuses on the subject of career guidance/career education. The reporter is John Merrow; the co-host is Wendy Blair.

This week's program is the fourth and final in a series on the relationship between schooling and jobs, "Can You Get There From Here?" and is available for broadcast by National Public Radio's 181 member stations the week of January 26.

GUESTS	PAGE
Mary Domahidy, YWCA Program Coordinator, Greenville, S.C.	1-2
Kathy Diggs, Career Counselor, New Hampshire	2-4
Ivan Charner, Education Researcher, N.I.E.	4-7
Ruth Roberts of Maine & Marlys Dickmeyer of Minnesota, Career counselors	8
Brenda Dykes, Administrator, Sulphur Springs, Texas	8-10
Paul Barton, Executive Director, National Manpower Institute & Walter Davis, Education Director, AFL-CIO	10-12
Deede Sharpe, Career counselor, Georgia	13

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(Check your local listings or the NPR member station in your area for the time and date of broadcast.)

Tape cassettes are available at cost. Due to special funds from the Office of Career Education received for this mini series, tape cassettes for all four programs are $12.00 (single cassettes are priced at $4.00 each.)

BLAIR: Options in Education is a news magazine about all the issues and ideas in education, from the abc's of pre-school to the alphabet soup of government programs. I'm Wendy Blair, and this week on Options in Education, John Merrow and I continue a four-part series on schooling and jobs: "Can You Get There From Here?"

ORLANDO: Hi, I'm Tony Orlando.

DAWN: And we're Dawn.

ORLANDO: We had a lot of fun making this record which comes with a special free booklet on career opportunities.

DAWN: You can get the training to qualify for a technical career. Write to Careers, Box 111, Washington D.C., 20044.

ORLANDO: Who knows, you, too, may be singing our song: "You Can Be More Than You Are."

This was a public service announcement of this station.

TEACHER: This kind of training is most important for kids who are poor students. Those are the ones I like to work with the most. A lot of other kids are going to make it without the school. But for kids whose environment is not so great, they're the ones who sit in the back row, who are afraid to talk, literally, to someone else, and say, "I can do this job because I'm worth something. You know, I'll do a good job for you or I need this training." They are the people, I think who need it the most.

TEACHER: We did a survey in Georgia of all the students who took the SAT's. 78 percent of these students identified career counseling as their number one problem. The number two need was trying to figure out where to find career counseling. So their first problem was what they were going to do, and their second problem was where in the world they were going to find help with the first problem.

BLAIR: The poor student needs it and the college-bound student needs it. "It" is career guidance. John has been asking teachers and counselors from across the country what they are teaching students about work. Mary Domahidy of Greenville, South Carolina, explains that young girls need special career counseling, too.

MERROW: What is the wheel of fortune, Mary?

DOMAHIDY: Okay, it's like I said, a wheel of fortune. It's divided into two different parts. One part is what happens to someone when they go look for a job. The second part is what's likely to happen to people in their personal lives in the future, to women. This goes spinning, spinning, spinning. The student goes up there with knowledge about some plans that they might have concerning a specific job and hopes for their future. So they walk up there and they spin it and it might come up "You're not hired because you have no experience." There is always the possibility that you do get the job. But there is another possibility,

too, that you don't get the job or you do get the job based on whether or not you have an advanced degree.

MERROW: Aha, the old shell game of going back to college.

DOMAHIDY: Right, or there is the other one, too, which probably might be more typical of today's job market. Only if you have technical skills do you get the job.

MERROW: You said there were two wheels of fortune or two parts to the wheel. It had something to do with personal life. What's on that wheel?

DOMAHIDY: Okay, on that wheel are things like happily married to, say, a doctor or a storeowner. Also there are things like she's widowed at the age of 30 because one out of 10 women in our country can expect to be widowed before the age of 50, which is pretty much against their stereotype. Then, of course, with three out of ten marriages ending in divorce, we have to have that adequately represented in the situation. And with one out of ten women remaining single for her entire life, we have to have that represented too. So those are just some of the outcomes.

MERROW: What's the mystery envelope and what's in the mystery envelope?

DOMAHIDY: Well, it is another tool to get at a learning situation. This time the young people are working in pairs. It may be a boy and a girl or two boys or two girls or whatever. They are asked to plan for an average high school girl who's 16 years old what they think will probably happen to her in the next 20 years of her life. They then have about 10 to 15 minutes to work this out and present their ideas to the class. Then I show them a set of mystery envelopes and they pick one of them. This represents fate. Whatever the mystery envelope says holds true. This is that part of life that they have not been able to show all control over.

MERROW: Mary, it sounds as if ideally the kids who finish this unit that you are doing will have their feet somehow onto reality. Is that the goal?

DOMAHIDY: The goal, yes, is to create the awareness that these are the things that can happen, that are likely to happen, that you can't control every aspect of life. I have to say one thing about myth breaking, though. You have to be cautious. In three to five days there is not a whole lot I can do to break any kind of myths that have been ingrained over a period of, say, 15 years. It is just to create the awareness that there are some other ways of looking at things. Now if it breaks their myth that is because they have thought beyond what I've done in three days.

MERROW: Mary Domahidy,who's a YWCA program coordinator in Greenville, South Carolina.

BLAIR: Creating awareness is a central theme, as is the idea of values clarification. A career counselor from New Hampshire explains.

MERROW: Kathy Diggs, you are a career counselor. What do you do if the kid is happy driving a tractor? Do you just let him go on or do

you tell him about the other things he might do?

DIGGS: I think that you absolutely have to. The whole point of career education is to expose people to careers without, hopefully, influencing them in any kind of directions, but giving them the initial equipment for themselves to make decisions. I think that it is our obligation to definitely illustrate to them the variety of careers that are available, but to give them the skills to make the decisions between their environmental background, which may conflict with the other information they are learning, but to make the decisions for themselves.

MERROW: Okay, but there are environmental pressures to not tell the kid about Paris and Rome and keep him on the farm?

DIGGS: Forget that; Manchester and Concord. Yes, I think there are. I don't think it is necessary to keep them just strictly on the farm as it is to keep them home. I think that is very true of a lot of areas where it is a rural kind of circumstance, not only in my immediate place that I'm familiar with. Yes, I think that there are parents whose exposure themselves is limited and therefore they don't understand the exposure that their son or daughter might have to have in order to cope in society. Therefore, it's not that they want to shelter the child. It's just that their own vision doesn't take that in at all.

MERROW: Isn't it possible that you're setting them up for some kind of huge culture shock?

DIGGS: Oh, I think that's very possible. I think that anybody who even pretends to be an expert in any kind of career education or especially career guidance, any kind of counseling that would be teaching decision-making skills or values clarification to students would have to be very careful that they are not in any way, in intonations and so forth, ascribing priorities to it, you know, "this is better than that." I think what we are trying to do is just to have kids understand what their own values are, just to understand what their values are, and perhaps how they arrived at them. In order for somebody to make a decision about a career, they have to know what they want of themselves. They have to clarify their own values. Then they have to have decision-making skills which help them to make decisions once they've gathered all of the information.

The third part of it then is to have career information, enough information and exposure and hands-on experiences, and so forth, so that now knowing what kind of life style you think you want, by having clarified your own values, now being able to know how you make a decision, you then take as much data as you can and as much realistic exposure and then relate those exposures to the other two things, to your values, and try to choose a career in that way.

I think that it is very possible, in fact probable, that by developing a good career education program from kindergarten through 12th grade we will in fact put many kids in conflict with their local environment, with family, with a tradition of their geographic area, with a tradition of a, say, a foreign background. I think we will definitely put kids in conflict with that and that means that we therefore have to deal with the conflict we are going to put them into. That again comes back to the whole thing I said on values clarification and decision making. Any kind of change and any kind of decision-making is difficult. It's work. It could involve, you know, some pain and agony. I think decision-making is not easy.

MERROW: So you are kind of a revolutionary.

DIGGS: I don't think so. I know I didn't have the help and I spent a lot of time going through the wrong doors. I think that we don't have time for it. I think that we don't want kids dropping out of school. This has something to do with that whole thing, making school more relevant. We want learning to be a lifelong process. We want kids to be able to see the relationship between everything they do in school and themselves, relevantly, and to tie some of those kind of things together with a lifestyle. Career education really means a lifestyle. It doesn't just mean "job". It means a whole lifestyle.

BLAIR: Kathy Diggs, a career counselor in New Hampshire, talking with John Merrow. Any number of factors influence career and occupational decisions. Ivan Charner, an education researcher at the National Institute of Education, lists some of the variables.

CHARNER: We are looking at a wide range of variables, ranging all the way from parental background variables, including parents' education, occupations, income, parental socialization practices, including sex role socialization -- that is a major emphasis in a lot of research today -- educational variables, academic ability, intelligence measured by an IQ test or some form of IQ test; pure variables, what your friends want to do, if that is congruent with what you want to do; and other significant, other variables, what teachers want you to do, what teachers say you should do, what counselors say you should do, the amount of counseling that you have had or the amount of advice that teachers give you for different educational and occupational levels; and also a number of socio-economic status variables, other than parental, including community socio-economic status, school socio-economic status, and the import of all of these variables on occupational attainments, educational attainments of individuals.

MERROW: What are you finding out? What's the single most important factor in the choice of an occupation?

CHARNER: Parental influence seems to be the most important, both on its direct effect on occupational attainments, how it directly would affect one's occupational attainment, and also on its effect of other variables and thensubsequehtly how those variables affect occupational attainment.

MERROW: Let me give you an hypothesis. You grow up in a family and your father works in a mill. Everyday or every night he says "Ivan, I don't want you to grow up to work in a mill. I don't want you to be like me. I want you to do better than I am." Those are both family variables. The kid sees the father doing one thing and here's the father saying another. What's likely to happen? Which will have the stronger influence?

CHARNER: My guess in that case will be probably some kind of interaction of the two. If I would see my father being very happy at what he's doing, having a relatively good income and a stable job and doing things that I would like to do, being outside, working with my hands, that might overcompensate for what he's actually telling me. If, on the other hand, I don't like what he's doing and think what he's telling me is better, that would be the primary factor in my weighing those two alternatives.

MERROW: You say, "I would guess." I know you are a qualified guesser. But is there research that actually indicates that? Can you research

that, the interaction of those two sort of contradictory threads?

CHARNER: Yes, there has been some. Looking at parental aspiration for their children compared to parental occupations and finding that parental aspirations have a major effect on occupational aspirations and subsequent occupational attainments.

MERROW: You said the most important thing is the family influence. What's the second most important factor in choice of an occupation?

CHARNER: You'd get a debate in the field. A number of students would say it is educational influences. The level of education is what we've researched primarily, how many years of education. There has been very little research on actually what about education seems to have affect.

MERROW: Ivan, I have this sneaking feeling that you are talking about people who go on to college.

CHARNER: Most of the research has been dealing with college populations, but there is a large percent, part of the research, that does deal with non-college bound students.

MERROW: Is there a difference? For example, you haven't said in terms of the factors affecting choice, you haven't said the job market, or at least I didn't hear you, I don't think.

CHARNER: The labor force. I classify the job market in that large range of environmental variables.

MERROW: Oh, I see. So the availability of jobs --

CHARNER: Is an important factor.

MERROW: How important?

CHARNER: It emerges as being important when the actual decision to enter a career becomes important. And it also becomes important as part of the information base that an individual uses to make a decision, what careers are available, what careers will be emerging in different fields, and particularly for women, which careers seem to be opening for women and which careers can women enter.

MERROW: Let's come back to that question of women. I'm curious. You said "When people make a choice." When do young people choose? I've heard, for example, people in career education talking about the choice point. What do they mean?

CHARNER: What they mean is a point when an individual might actually say, "I want to be. I've weighed all my alternatives. I know my own abilities, my own interests, what's available in the field. Here's what I want to do."

MERROW: I infer from the way you said that that you don't agree.

CHARNER: I tend not to agree, particularly with educational decisions. One of the choice points that a lot of people talk about is 12th grade or 11th grade for the choice to go to college. I argue that the choice to go to college in many instances is made before individuals enter college.

If you come from an upwardly mobile family that has been pushing college, that choice has been made for you really by your parents. They have been putting away money for an individual to go to college before that individual ever enters the formal school system. So I don't think the individual really has the choice to go to college. The choice becomes one of which college to go to.

MERROW: Are you saying that there is no such thing as a choice point or that it happens and happens and happens all through school? What exactly are you saying?

CHARNER: My intuition and what I've read suggests that there might be choice points for certain individuals, but it probably isn't consistent across individuals by any stretch of the imagination. Certain individuals will make a choice to enter a specific field of employment in 11th grade; some will make it in 12th grade. Others might not make it until they are out of school for three or four years and have been exploring careers from different fields and different occupations for a number of years as to which one they really want to enter for a longer period of time.

MERROW: You know, it's not frustrating -- well maybe it is frustrating -- if the quesiton is how do people choose their careers, occupations. As a qualified researcher, your answer is "Everybody does it differently and there are lots of different factors."

CHARNER: That is correct.

MERROW: But I'll bet you can generalize about groups of people.

CHARNER: Certain groups of people, we know what factors would influence them more than other factors, women being one of them.

MERROW: Let's talk about women.

CHARNER: In major populations, women are still choosing, even with the increasing emphasis on the women's movement and equal rights in education for women and Title IX, are still choosing a very limited range of narrow and low-prestige occupations.

MERROW: Like what?

CHARNER: College women are still choosing teaching and nursing professions or some other technical professions in the science fields, but not a lot of them. Ranging from pre-school students on up, they are choosing the same two occupations plus secretarial and clerical occupations and plus model and/or airline attendant occupations, which are low-prestige, low range occupations. And some are choosing homemaker or housewife occupations. But when you compare that to the number of choices that boys have and the types of choices, boys are choosing two to three times more occupations than girls are, straight across in the research ranging from pre-school up to high school and college.

MERROW: And you don't see signs of that changing particularly?

CHARNER: Not drastically at this time. The research that's coming in now has some of the very similar findings coming out.

MERROW: You said you could generalize about other groups. Blacks?

CHARNER: The research with Blacks is very varied. We know that they have high educational and occupational aspirations, equal to white counterparts, both males and females. We also know that when it comes to attaining these they don't attain them as high as whites do. There seems to be something happening in the labor market which keeps Blacks out of it. They have accepted the social values of the system, but don't seem to be able to get certified or to enter the occupations that are congruent with their aspirations or the educational levels that are congruent with their aspirations.

MERROW: Take it into the schools or where the young people are. How much information do they get? Can you generalize about that?

CHARNER: They seem to be getting some information about occupations. I think they get more information about the general world of work, regardless of curriculum. The studies that have looked at occupational information scores with grade level, regardless of the type of program that an individual is in, show that occupational information scores increase with grade levels. Something is happening. Individuals are gaining more information about the world of work.

MERROW: My hypothesis is that if you give kids a whole lot of occupaitonal information, what the jobs are like, how much money you make from them, what their status is, how hard they are, how much security they offer, how interesting they are and all that kind of stuff, that kids would then make choices from among those occupations rather than simply being influenced or being influenced as much as they were in the past by parents and the immediate labor market. Is that correct? I mean the idea is to give kids a lot of choices. But you are saying occupational information is not all that important.

CHARNER: The idea, more than giving them choices, is to give them more information to make choices with, a greater diversity of information, more complete information in a lot of instances, so that they can weigh what parents, peers, other individuals are saying against what they know about the labor market and what they know about requirements for jobs, work schedule and duties on jobs and make decisions in an informal way.

MERROW: You researchers assume that it's somehow a rational process, but it might very well be almost wholly irrational. People might kind of back into things.

CHARNER: Some researchers would assume it's a rational process. Others say a lot has to do with chance or luck. Again, there has been a debate in the field. Even the backing in process, it is my feeling, has certain things that one could look at to say, "The reason that you backed into that was because of other things that you have done or other advantages that you have."

MERROW: Thanks very much, Ivan Charner of the National Institute of Education.

BLAIR: Providing young people with more information about work is one goal of career education. But there is more to the definition, according to Ruth Roberts of Maine and Marlys Dickmeyer of Minnesota.

MERROW: You are both involved in it. What does it mean? What's

career education?

ROBERTS: That's a good question, because many people have different definitions of the words "career education." Maybe, perhaps, we shouldn't call it career education but career awareness, especially at my particular grade level, because we do not zero in on a particular job or we do not take children and channel them into certain job areas. We make them aware of the various types of jobs. We make them aware of the changable nature of our economy, the jobs that are not even invented yet that will be there in the future. We try to prepare them for all the changes that may come about and the fact that they may have to make more than one choice throughout their lifetime. They have to be prepared to make these choices. This is what we are all about, not really zeroing in, especially at elementary level, on any particular type of job.

MERROW: Haven't you just defined career education as self education?

DICKMEYER: Self awareness is a part of it. I think there are kind of three facets of career education. There is this whole matter of awareness of yourself and who you are. Then there is this matter of awareness of the world of work, that economic world, the business world. And then a dimension we have not talked too much about, and that is the value of work and why work is important to the individual and to the society.

MERROW: So career education, as you are defining it, encompasses all those things.

ROBERTS: It really does. To think of it as only awareness of jobs is a very limiting and narrow definition. I'll tell you about a field trip that a 5th grade teacher planned with his students. They were building a construction job nearby the school. This teacher went to the superintendent of the construction job. He talked with him and said, "May I bring the boys and girls over and take a look at what you are doing? I would like you to tell them a little bit about yourself and your work and how you feel about it, and what's going on over here." The next day they came over and they saw how the carpets were laid and how the building was constructed and this was work awareness.

The boys and girls had been primed about the kind of questions, because they had discussed this ahead of time. One of the boys looked up at the superintendent and asked him, "Do you like your work?" The superintendent said, "Would you like to go to jail every morning?" They looked at him kind of quizically and he said, "That's what it's like if you don't like your job, it's like going to jail every morning." He said, "I do like my work. In fact," he said, "when I was about 13 I dropped out of school and I started working and I only earned about $15 a week and I decided this wasn't for me. So I went back to school and I kept working hard until I got where I am now. Now I am responsible for every building on this site and there is a lot of challenge to it." As I watched the faces of the boys and girls listening to this man affirm his job and say how good he felt about it, and realizing that a lot of them had never heard an adult talk this way, I felt they were getting exposed to the value of work for him as an individual as well as to the community.

MERROW: I am talking with Brenda Dykes who used to be a teacher and is now an administrator in Sulfur Springs, Texas. I am interested. I heard you talking earlier, Brenda, about getting business involved in the school. You apparently spend a certain amount of your time doing that. Why do you think that's important?

DYKES: I think it is very important that you emphasize the business in relation with the world of work. Nevertheless the boys and girls should be aware that their world is not confined to four walls, that their world is the world, their classroom is the world. We put boys and girls into the business, 100 8th graders one day, and we called it "career day." By doing this, our business, several of the businessmen remarked to me that it renewed their faith in young people. They didn't realize that young people had as much knowledge as they did or that they were able to do as much of the tasks as they did.

We had a boy that worked with computers. Several of them gave them the actual jobs. The boy on the computer, it was a grocery supply company and he was actually given a $400 order to put through the computer. They were amazed that he could pick up this task and do it so fast.

We had one that went into the Ramada Inn, that is hotel management. This boy impressed them so much that he was able to go back for a part-time job. They were able to teach him some of the skills where their other people could break away and do something else, this kind of thing.

Also other businesses. We had two boys that wanted to be funeral home directors. They actually helped in a funeral. We had every kind of occupations you could imagine that day. Each student wore an emblem which was a schoolhouse designating that it was career day. This was on schooltime. They were counted present in school, yet their school was the world of work. They were actually working in the world of work with their business.

MERROW: Okay, now let me be a little bit of a cynic here. How much can anybody learn about running a Ramada Inn or running a funeral or what have you in one day?

DYKES: I think they can learn enough that they know whether they really do have an interest in it. Several of them that went out into the different businesses maybe found one niche that they were not even aware was there.

MERROW: Judging from what you are saying, then, it would seem as if a lot of kids would like to have more than one career day during the year.

DYKES: Right. Several of the boys and girls remarked to me that it was the best day of their life. Some of them remarked that for the first time in their life they understand why they went to school. Then other boys and girls also felt this way. Our business participation has really grown because when we got a little exposure, then the businesses wanted to come in and be a part of the school system because they could see it was a going thing. We had a manager from Texas Power and Light tell us that they spend thousands of dollars a year retraining their people on how to answer a telephone and things like this, why can't we work with the boys and girls and they will be glad to work with us, on how to communicate with people so they won't have to retrain their workers when they graduate from high school, this kind of thing.

MERROW: Now the kids who go out on career day, let me make sure I got that right, those are 7th, 8th and 9th graders?

DYKES: Eighth graders only. We do this as a climax of the 8th grade

before they go into high school. Our 8th grade is the last year of the middle school concept. By Spring of the 8th grade they are to know what they want to take in high school. Some of them are still leery, they do not exactly know which way they want to go. I think this helps seal where they want to go in the 9th grade. After the career day they met with their counselors and made their schedule up for the 9th grade. Some of them knew what type of vocations or occupations they wanted to pursue at that time. We know some of them are going to change their mind. But as least it gave them a goal. We had a potential dropout who had not been in school several days that year. I thought for sure he would dropout by the end of the 8th grade. I saw his mother two days ago. She remarked that for the first time in her life her child knew that he wanted to go to school and why he wanted to finish, because he had a goal in mind. He had never been able to go out -- he is from a low-income family -- and see what the world of work was really like.

BLAIR: Brenda Dykes, a school administrator in Texas. What the world is really like is a large part of the puzzle for young people, and perhaps for adults, too.

BARTON: Steve Bailey, vice-president of the American Counsel on Education, tells the story of the harried father who comes home and wants some peace and his young son is interrupting that. So he gives him a map of the world that he has pulled out of the paper. He tears it into pieces and sends the boy off and says, "put it together" and that will keep him occupied. But the son comes back in one minute. He said, 'Dad, I have it together." He said, "Well, son, how did you do it so quickly?" He said, "Well on the other side there was a picture of a man. I put the man together and the world took care of itself."

BLAIR: The story teller is Paul Barton, executive director of the National Manpower Institute. He joins John and Walter Davis, education director of the AFL-CIO, in a discussion of the realities of the work place.

BARTON: Right now what's happening with the large employers, for about two-thirds to three-fourths of them, according to now about five studies, employers really aren't hiring youth until they are about 21 for regular adult jobs. So you have about a three year gap even after society has certified these young people as having finished the free educational system and they are ready to move into the adult world.

So it doesn't matter in that case what curriculum they had. I'm over-exaggerating, obviously, because it matters. If you have been trained to be a secretary in high school you'll get a job right away. But for a woman training to be a secretary it sort of means that society is quite ready to put you in your place sooner rather than later. I think that you can have skill training in the public high school where it really works and it is a pragmatic basis.

But where you really learn a job through apprenticeship on the job, then I'd do the education and I'd move the person into the industry. I'd do what needs to be done in the classroom depending upon how things are actually practiced out there in the hiring world. So there is no pedagogical answer to it, I think, but really a very practical matter depending upon what the skill is, what the community is and what the industry is and what the situation is.

MERROW: If there are likely to be jobs out there, then go ahead

and train the people for them in the school.

BARTON: If it works, as long as you are not skimping basic education and narrowing people in such a way that it limits them for flexibility. You know, you have to balance those things.

MERROW: Mr. Davis?

DAVIS: Yes, we have a problem with that. We would agree that what Mr. Barton says is the ideal situation. We certainly are not against the ideal. The problem we have with it now again, and I also turn back to the economy, and we have an 8.3 percent unemployment rate in this country. But our people are just taking this unemployment situation to heart because they are affected by it. In the auto industry, for example, there is still a fantastic number of lay-offs that are still in effect. It is over two hundred thousand. That is the last figure I heard. Can you imagine a situation where an employee is standing out on an unemployment line while his son, who's a high school student, is on the assembly line at Ford? Well, you know, for nothing. This is not the case. But that's the example. Why, that is an untenable situation. I don't think we can live with that. So you have to balance these kind of things out.

MERROW: So the AFL-CIO and other unions, too, would come down hard against work study kinds of programs or study release programs in times of unemployments.

DAVIS: Sure. Well, we would have little difficulty with our own employers, that is employers who have a contract, a collective bargaining relationship with any of our affiliates. But the difficulty arises where you have a non-union employer who has nobody to answer to. You give them an unfair incentive, which the union employers get a little uptight about, and I don't blame them. I want to make this point: we're not talking about some strange children from Mars. These are the sons and daughters of unions members we are talking about here. So we have given this a lot of deep thought.

MERROW: Mr. Barton?

BARTON: Yes, I both understand and share those concerns. Certainly we have to work these things out so that youth, during their formative periods and during their education periods, are not going to be standing in for the father.

MERROW: Who can't get a job?

BARTON: Who can't get a job and is the household support. But on the other hand, since they are the sons and daughters of those workers and since there is a great concern in the United States, and always has been, for its youth and for its development, and if we keep it within the educational experience, and we have to fully recognize all of those pitfalls which are there, the possibilities of exploitation by employers in competition with other employers, the possibility of a low-wage substitute for a higher paid worker --

MERROW: But you are essentially saying that where unemployment is high, keep those kids in school, don't let them out to take jobs away from adult workers. Let's say that that is an acceptable policy, except perhaps from the point of view of the kids themselves who in fact --

you know, Kenneth Clarke called high school a vestibule -- how long can you keep kids in there? They want to get out. Twenty-four percent drop out now.

BARTON: I would not keep them in school even in those situations. I would not let them get into situations where they are replacing adult workers. But there are enough possiblilities in high unemployment situations for community internships where they can get experience in the services sector and in the public sector and in the voluntary sector. There are enough opportunities, if labor and management and school people and public representatives are involved in working it out so adults are not hurt. There are possibilities for exploratory experiences that do not get them in the production process. So you probably have to have something that is different by the business cycle.

MERROW: You would like some changes in the schools then. Because they are certainly not run that way.

BARTON: Well, the schools are very rigid, especially the secondary schools. They have not reached out. You can't build this as a bridge head just out from the schools. That's why I think you have to involve employers and unions and the public sector, with a small p, along with the schools to work out this transition from the school to the work process, which just can't be done entirely from the education system.

DAVIS: Yes, I would certainly agree with that. But my own experience tells me that unless you have this whole thing done in an organized fashion, as Mr. Barton has just explained, which is virtually impossible from my point of view, to get every community in the country operating that way. To the extent that you do, though, then I think that it could be a very successful effort. The other problem I have with it, of course is that there are some industries which don't lend themselves to this kind of thing. For example, the aircraft industry, the airline industry, if you will. I remember a colleague of mine in Florida was talking about a program that he wanted to work out with one of the airlines to get the youngsters on the line of maintenance. Well, of course, you've got laws involved there. I've got the CAB. I don't think I'd want to fly an airline, for example, if two junior high school students were repairing the hydraulics on there.

BARTON: You would have full agreement there.

DAVIS: But that is just really an outlandish case. But many employers have told me exactly that where there's expensive machinery involved and that kind of thing, you've got insurance problems. All of this is part of their resistance to it. But if they had the possibility available to them of having properly supervised programs by members of the regular staff, then I say that in that situation you don't interfere into the production process and there is an opportunity for the hands-on experience. But it has to be done with some real commitment from the employer and certainly some involvement and participation by the union, if there is a union.

BLAIR: Walter Davis of the AFL-CIO and Paul Barton of the National Manpower Institute pointing out some problems with the work study on the one hand and with job training inside the schools on the other. The time trap of education first and work afterwards bothers just about everybody who studies the problem, including Deede Sharpe, a career counselor in

Georgia.

SHARPE: I think what we are going to have to do is get away from the idea that for 16 years you learn and for 30 years you earn. We are going to have to get into an open-ended educational system where people can come back and then go earn and then come back and then go earn. It doesn't make any sense at all to say that the learning part of your life is isolated to these 16 or 12 or 18 or 22 years and then the earning part of your life is that which comes after.

We've got to build this sort of cooperative partner relationship between business and industry and education for the benefit of both. We'll have to give people the kind of skills needed for employment. We are going to have to give them the personal management skills needed for adaptability. It is very interesting. Phi Delta Kappa did a high school poll of high school seniors. About 80 percent of them could state a career goal but they had no idea what was involved in that career goal and none of them had ever talked to anybody who held that occupation.

So if a high school student is interested in veterinary medicine I would recommend that the student get in touch with a veterinarian, go spend a couple of Saturdays there. See what it's like to watch a dog die on the operating table from internal hemorrhaging. Find out what kind of skills are needed and how long that guy had to study to become a veterinarian. Get out where the real world is, begin to test your own ideas about yourself and about the world out against reality. The whole notion of reality testing is a strong piece of advice, I would think, for high school students.

MERROW: For example, what about the large number of kids who don't have some sense of what they want to be. Are you perpetuating the myth that there is a "one thing to be"?

SHARPE: Oh no. What we are talking about is the notion of risk taking on the part of the individual. Get out beyond who you are now or what you know now and try some new things. Push yourself into some new areas and begin to figure out all the number of choices that you have. I am not concerned that an individual student make a career choice. In fact I think that would be a mistake to say okay, I'm going to become an X, Y or Z and nothing will steer me from that course. But to at least be aware of choices and be aware of your own interests and values so you can begin to fit those interests and values into one of the choices available.

MERROW: Another thing to do might be to talk to some of those people who are role models also, adults in your life, and find out how many different things they have done. You may be quite surprised.

SHARPE: Not only that, but get into some nitty-gritty questions with adults. They are pretty intelligent people, some of them, and say to them, why do work? What is it that you don't like about work? What is it you do like about work? How do you get along with people on the job? Some of the personal kind of feelings that adults have about work, kids need to just start talking to adults. There's very little conversation between today's suburban students or inner-city students, for that matter, and adults other than parents and teachers.

MERROW: The teachers you have heard from are persuasive advocates for the fast-growing career education movement. Career education is not

without its critics, however. One skeptic -- he is not necessarily a critic -- is William Harwood of the New Schools Exchange. On program three in this series, he characterized schools as reactive and unable to generate change from within because administrators and teachers are too comfortable with things as they are. Career education's critics, including two history professors, Norton Grubb and Marvin Lazerson, who wrote recently, "The assumptions of career educators about the nature of work and the demand for labor are largely a myth. The world they posit, in which career education can make all work satisfying and all training useful, is a world we no doubt prefer to the one we inhabit. But in constructing this Utopia, career education simply reflects the more general dilemma of schooling. Capitalism is an economic system in which managers endlessly divide, simplify, and eliminate jobs. This results in an increase in unemployment and a constant status of underemployment for most workers. The economic system values capital at the expense of human resources. Yet the schooling system is charged with the development of human resources, and thus its central purpose is in sad contradiction to that of the economic system it serves."

BLAIR: That critique, in the November, 1975 issue of the Harvard Educational Review, was prompted in part by the enthusiastic claims put forth by career education's prime sponsor, former United States Commissioner of Education, Sidney Marland. Marland wrote, "All young people upon leaving the education system should be ready immediately to enter satisfying and useful employment in a field of the individual's choice." The Council for Basic Education was quick to respond, pointing out that more and better vocational training wouldn't guarantee jobs. Lots of PhDs in history and chemistry are unemployed. Another flaw, said the Council, was the promise of a job in the field of the individual's choice, because many young people who may want to be physicians or airline pilots just don't have the intellectual wherewithal. Career Education, concluded the Council for Basic Education, risks promising young people something that it cannot deliver.

MERROW: In the course of this four-part series we have discussed, or at least mentioned a number of possible solutions in addition to those suggested by the career education movement. Because no problem as great as this one, unemployment, underemployment, unkept promises, and unresponsive schooling, is likely to have a single solution, we would like to review, briefly, the ideas that James O'Toole, Elliot Liebow, William Harwood, Willard Wirtz and others have discussed.

BLAIR: We hope, incidentally, that you will write and ask for a free set of the four transcripts. The fourth also contains a bibliography of books and articles on the subject.

MERROW: Some critics and scholars suggest changes in the school, especially in the comprehensive high school. These large schools attempt to be all things to all students, but aren't. They do segregate youth by age and by grade, and they keep the young away from their elders (except on career awareness days once a year.) These are bad, even unhealthy practices, according to the President's Panel on Youth, in one of the best books on the subject. It's called "Youth: Transition to Adulthood." That book suggests that the American high school functions effectively as a marriage marketplace, but not as much else, and it calls for new, smaller, specialized schools.

BLAIR: Vouchers, a kind of ticket to school that could be used anytime, are encouraged by some observers. If everyone had a ticket to 12,

14 or 16 years of schooling that could be used anytime then the age trap could be escaped. Regular sabbaticals from jobs -- perhaps every seven years, say -- have been suggested as another way of encouraging lifelong schooling. Many older labor unions members don't like the idea of sabbaticals because they are looking forward to retirement and not to a year on campus.

MERROW: The specter of ten million unemployed men and women leads many to call for public service jobs, with the government being the employer of last resort. Programs all young people, ages 18 to 20, should be required to spend a year or two in public services work at home. Former Secretary of Labor Wirtz called guaranteed employment a "shortcut across quicksand." It's an election year, so listen for debate on the subject. O'Toole and others demand that jobs themselves be humanized and that all workers be paid a living wage. It's a buyer's market, however, with so many unemployed and underemployed workers around.

BLAIR: You've listened to a lot of debate on the relationship between education and work. Experience is a great teacher, we all know, but practical work experience takes on actual meaning when accompanied by reflection and outside stimuli, such as books and teachers. That implies a need for schooling to complement job experience. But schools aren't a substitute for experience. However earnest the efforts to recreate the world in the school, the school is not the world and is not perceived by students as "real."

MERROW: Lots of people are calling for a closer union of the worlds of education and work. Willard Wirtz says there is only one world, the world of life. But others say we must separate education and work -- at least we need to stop promising young people that more education means more money because that just isn't guaranteed. Along those same lines maybe we ought to spread the word that you don't have to spend money or go to school to learn. There are books, libraries, neighbors, friends, television and radio.

BLAIR: Recently Frank Jennings, editor of "Teachers College Record" put it this way: "There are surely profound connections between education and work, but they are esthetic and ethical, more than they are pecuniary and vocational. Formal education can help one to acquire the ability to frame appropriate questions about the ways of nature and of man, and to tease out useful provisional answers. It can help in the baking of better bread. It should help bakers to become more rational and more just."

MERROW: Not only are there no simple answers, but in fact the problems may become more severe. There are fewer "good" jobs which leads some people to conclude that we should be sharing and conserving. But the competition for those good jobs will probably become more intense. We are, after all, a competitive society. What's more, the huge population bulge of young people now in college is about to enter the job market in droves. That has already made for emptier schools and it will probably mean emptier colleges, unless older people begin attending in comparable numbers. So the problem persists. How does a society train its young people for adulthood and for work?

BLAIR: At the beginning of this series we asked you listeners to tell us whether they received training in school for the jobs you now hold. This week, as promised, John, David Ensor, and I are going to

read excerpts from some of the letters. Overall, 60 per cent of those writing in said that they had not received training in school for their present job. But most letter-writers looked beyond the question and wrote about the ambivalence of their own situation.

ENSOR: Harry F. Griswold, of Pittsford, New York, writes, "I must leave it to you to decide if I am a "yes" or a "no". I first took an associates degree in data processing. While employed as a computer programmer, I took a BS degree in social science. I then quit my job to devote full time to graduate studies and an MA degree in psychology. Subsequently, and after much fruitless effort to find other employment, I'm working again in computer programming."

BLAIR: Kaky Dayton, an English teacher in Wasica, Minnesota, described the frustrations of a teacher's life. "Was my five years of college worth the debts, work, and anxiety? Definitely. It taught me two invaluable skills -- the ability to research a problem and the ability to adapt to change."

ENSOR: David Nicholson of Lakeland, Florida writes, "My degree in Political Science bears little relation to what I do to earn my daily bread. However, I would do it all over again, knowing what I do now -- 10 years out of school.

MERROW: Richard Thornberg majored in music in college. He says, "During my last semester I started job hunting and came close to getting a music teaching job at a local private school, -- not close enough. I interviewed with a life insurance agency -- wound up buying a policy. Finally I got a job as a screen printer at a wallpaper factory. I was exhilirated! I make $118 a week. So, for the present, I find myself paying back $20,000 in education loans by doing a job that easily could be done with a minimum of education. I am obsessed with a scabbish self-concept. After all, when I took this job, someone else lost out. In conclusion, as Art Buchwald would say, why spend pots of money studying Kierkegaard in college when you can read it all in the comfort of your mill, on coffee breaks, for the next 40 years."

BLAIR: Jon Hedge of Iowa writes,"I consider that a strong traditional education in humanities can prepare an individual to function effectively in the broadest range of vocations which this society offers."

ENSOR: Carol Howell of Benson, Vermont writes, "I'm sure my job -- social worker -- was determined primarly by the social values I was exposed to at home. I attended an independent secondary school which reinforced the direction my home influences had already set me on. For what it's worth, I am now unemployed!"

MERROW: Ronna Perry offers this answer, "I graduated from New York State Teachers College, taught school for a year, and have been working as a stewardess ever since. Many of my teaching experiences, such as responsibility for groups of people, organizational skills and so forth, have been invaluable to me in my present work and I am truly thankful for that."

BLAIR: Here's an unusual case: Jerry Grashoff of Michigan began studying to be a botantist as a teenager and after earning a PhD suddenly lost his job when a government contract was cancelled. He now runs his own gift shop. He writes, "It was easy to see that I would have been financially ahead if I had continued as a botanist But, it is obvious

to my wife and friends that I am mentally and physically better off since the switch. I am only sorry that I was not astute enough to have determined earlier that life as a professor or researcher was more of a hassle than I cared to bear. All during my Ph.D. program I repressed any doubts to that effect. I was too proud to quit. I required the loss of employment to wake me up."

ENSOR: George Adams of Tuscon, Arizona recently resigned an administrative position at a medical school and he is now self employed. "Even in the succession of jobs I've held, my high school training was relatively useless. But then so was my college and post graduate training. I did quite well academically while threading my way through the education maze. But as I look back on it all, I can only conclude that we don't know how to prepare people to cope with either life or job situations."

MERROW: David Warshawsky, an insurance man in Towson, Maryland, writes, "I had received no training in any school for any job I ever had."

ENSOR: Leonard Asselin, of Prarie Valley, Kansas, writes, "The greatest mistake that institutions make is that they don't prepare students for the real world. Most of the people who have come to me for jobs are so wet behind the ears that they have no concept of the defference between studying and actually working at a chosen profession. It should be mandatory that students actually work at a profession when school is not in session."

BLAIR: James Leigh is 47 and a teacher. He writes about the importance of reinforcement and support from others besides the family. He describes how his parents and a social worker helped him overcome tuberculosis and go on to college, then about those who, in large and small ways, encouraged him incollege. He concludes, "In the educational process no one must be discouraged from learning. We must view learning as a goal in and of itself, not as a means to employment. A true democracy exists in knowledgeable people who can participate on the basis of equality. Employment is only a means to economic stability. Education is the means to a viable society."

ENSOR: Milton Nash writes from San Francisco, "During high school I apprenticed in the printing trade, a job I am tenaciously clinging to due to rapid technological changes in the field. How can one obtain a job in a society that is steadfastly preoccupied with displacing as many positions as quickly as possible? Your series hasn't enabled me to see the light at the end of the tunnel yet. But I'm still listening. In education I sense a glimmer of hope in a depressing situation.

BLAIR: This four-part series is made possible in part with funds provided by the Office of Career Education of the U. S. Office of Education. Their grant also allows us to distribute transcripts of this series free, rather than for the usual 25¢. If you would like a set, please write us. Cassettes are also available at $4 or $12 for the set of four cassettes. Our address, Options in Education, 2025 M. Street Northwest, Washington D.C., 20036. That address again: Options in Education, 2025 M., as in mother, Street Northwest, Washington, D.C., 20036.

This program is produced by Mirge Hart. Executive Producer of Options in Education is John Merrow. I'm Wendy Blair.

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THE LOS ANGELES COMMUNITY CHARTS A DIRECTION FOR CAREER EDUCATION IN ITS PUBLIC SCHOOLS • 1976

A REPORT ON A SERIES OF CAREER EDUCATION POLICY SEMINARS
SPONSORED BY
THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP
THE ASSOCIATES PROGRAM

AN OVERVIEW

Comprehensive career education is a strategy of instruction and guidance designed to enable each student to define his or her personal career and educational goals and to plan an appropriate course of action leading to fulfillment of these goals. This strategy provides opportunities for career awareness, career exploration and career preparation.

The concept of a comprehensive career education strategy is an integral part of the educational program of the Los Angeles Unified School District. Because of its belief that career education should concern and involve the entire community, the school district recently turned to decision-makers from various segments of the community for help in charting a direction for career education to follow in the next several years.

As these decision-makers worked together to help shape educational policy, they also affirmed the concept of career education and committed themselves to the following principles:

- Career education activities, experiences and information efforts should be broadened to serve all students.
- Stronger, more clearly defined cooperation is needed between various segments of the school-community in providing career education services.
- Ongoing community involvement in the decision-making process should be encouraged.

The community dialogue that resulted in this commitment and direction for the future was made possible through a series of Los Angeles-based seminars sponsored by The George Washington University, Institute for Educational Leadership (IEL), Washington, D.C., in cooperation with the Los Angeles Unified School District.

The Institute is an organization established to improve educational policy and policy-making processes throughout the United States. By using a variety of approaches, IEL seeks to bridge the communication gap between educators, political policy-makers and the informed public.

One of these approaches is The Associates Program (TAP), a network of individuals across the country who provide links between educational policy-makers within government and encourage similar links between agencies and coalitions wishing to improve school programs.

This TAP approach was used by the Institute in implementing its Career Education Policy Project (CEPP) to promote discussion of the issues and the potential of career education.

With funding from the U.S. Office of Education, the Institute for Educational Leadership—through CEPP and TAP—has sponsored three city seminars and three state seminars on career education.

Los Angeles was one of the three cities selected by IEL to conduct a program that would bring together the city's decision-makers to discuss the career education concept and reach agreement on career education policy in the city's public schools.

More than 50 decision-makers in Los Angeles—representing business, labor, government, parent/community groups and education—attended one of three seminars held in Los Angeles in March, April and May of this year. All of the seminar participants were invited to take part in a final summary conference in June.

Recognizing the potential impact of this effort on the future of career education in Los Angeles, three prominent leaders of city government, private industry and public education agreed to serve as hosts of the Career Education Policy Seminars.

Those decision-makers taking part in the program were asked to identify and explore major issues in career education, recommend or reject specific policies related to these issues, and give their opinions on specific actions to implement the policies.

The significant issues identified in each of the three seminars—as well as the policies and implementation actions determined at the summary—conference are presented in the pages that follow.

THE HOSTS

Generating a community-wide dialogue on educational policy requires the support and cooperation of all sectors of the city. Prompted by the belief that such dialogue is essential to an effective program of career education for the youth of Los Angeles, three distinguished leaders in city government, private industry and public education agreed to host the Los Angeles Career Education Policy Seminars.

The hosts were Tom Bradley, mayor of Los Angeles; Robert R. Dockson, president of California Federal Savings and Loan; and William J. Johnston, superintendent of the Los Angeles Unified School District.

The hosts offered these views on career education and the value of community-wide dialogue:

"Career education is essential! I've been wondering when we were going to begin to raise the level of consciousness and discuss this concept. These seminars make me hopeful. I feel we must move forward on this kind of program, and I commend the community on its participation."

TOM BRADLEY

"I am especially pleased that all students will have an opportunity to be exposed to career experience and activities, both on and off the campus; and that a Commission, charged with the responsibility for developing a linkage with business will be established."

ROBERT R. DOCKSON

"We are making appeals to all institutions in the public and private sectors of Los Angeles to assist us with career education. Los Angeles has a great start compared with other cities across the country, and we are grateful for community involvement. We must continue to expand our career education efforts until we can serve all of the students in our school district."

WILLIAM J. JOHNSTON

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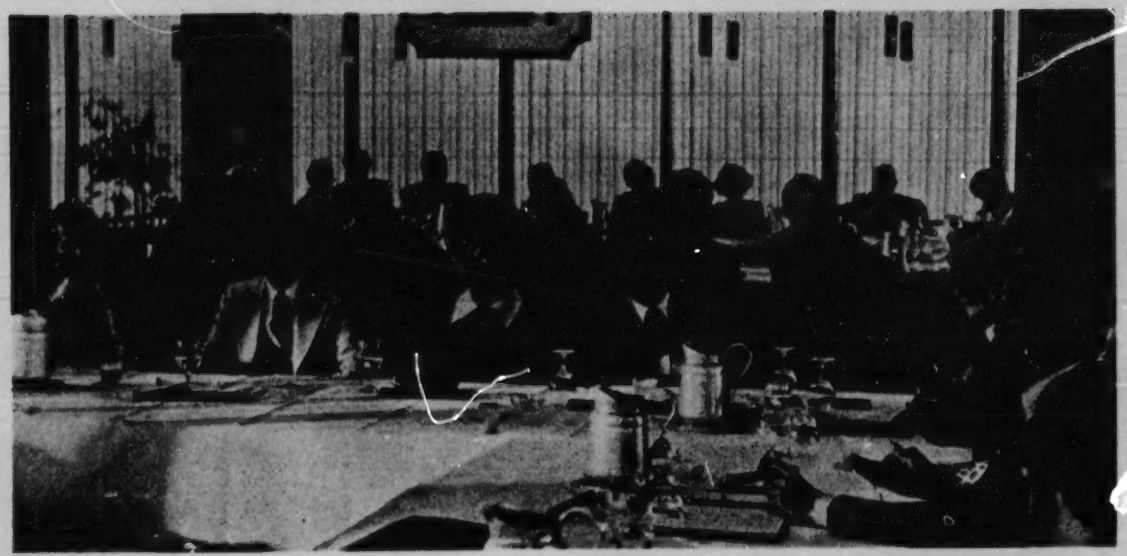
THE FIRST SEMINAR

MARCH 17, 1976



ISSUE:
Career education is needed as a useful educational strategy for all students.

In reaching consensus on this issue, participants in the March seminar deliberated the question of who should be offered career education opportunities.

Participants agreed that limiting career education activities to certain students is not only unrealistic, but may be a disservice to other students.

Dialogue among the participants also dealt with the need of every high school graduate for a salable skill, the need to eliminate stereotypes about the status of particular jobs and those who hold them, and the need to educate parents about the value of educational options or choices for students.

Among the specific views contributing to the consensus on the issue of career education for all students were the following:

Everyone needs training since everyone must get a job.
—Don Hanauer

It isn't only one class of people who go into certain jobs.
—Barbara Crowley

We need to provide options for all students. Even if students go on to college, they need to be able to work, to become familiar with workers.
—Diane Watson

ISSUE:

The learning of work habits, positive attitudes and an understanding of the work environment is a critical function of career education.

Dialogue leading to this consensus stressed the importance of gaining appropriate work habits and attitudes at the work site.

Participants discussed prevailing social concerns that are reflected in schooling and in work and the ways in which schools tend to mirror the larger society.

The seminar group agreed that, while schools should teach responsibility and proper attitudes about work, business and industry should meet the challenge of making the work environment a positive one.

Among the specific views expressed were the following:

Students can learn attitudes better in the real world of work.
—Hazel Grandchamp

Such an education (about work) may help children become aware of themselves and less likely to make career choices solely on the basis of their parents' experiences.
—Mark Johnson

We face the problem of making work a worthwhile experience.
—Sidney Brickman

ISSUE:

Career education cannot be fully implemented by educators in the school environment.

ISSUE:

There is a definite need for a partnership between the schools and the community for the delivery of career education services and activities.

These closely interrelated statements resulted from discussions concerning the ability of schools to replicate world-of-work experiences and training.

Some participants felt actual experiences gained in the business-industrial community are frequently more valuable than simulated experiences gained in "school." However, some participants maintained that on-site job training is expensive to industry and pooled resources might be more economical than separate, individual efforts.

Other participants suggested exploring training programs with non-profit organizations, as well as with business and industry. Although participants stressed the need for voluntary programs to give students "hands-on" experience, they underscored the value of financial incentives and legislative action in stimulating more active involvement in career education by business, industry and other segments of the community.

Specific opinions voiced by participants included the following:

Partnership in career education is a three-way responsibility of parents, educators and industry.
—Mark Johnson

Schools and private enterprise should plan cooperatively on issues such as employment trends.
—Carolyn Halston

Industry participation might need to be addressed on a dollars-and-cents basis.
—Eric Von der Lieth

THE SECOND SEMINAR

APRIL 21, 1976

ISSUE:

A systematic reliable relationship should be established between the schools and the community.

Dialogue leading to consensus on the desirability of a stronger school-community relationship in career education was initiated by the suggestion that greater coordination and support could help promote additional career education opportunities.

Many participants agreed on the need to implement career education on a massive scale in Los Angeles but expressed doubt that the community could respond to such an undertaking without a more clearly defined role.

However, concern was voiced that the school-community relationship be flexible enough to allow each participating institution to contribute in whatever ways it felt could be most responsive to educational objectives.

Among the specific views set forth were the following:

When you look at the sheer weight of numbers, you realize that we are obliged to address ourselves to mass systems.
—Robert Farrell

There have been incidents in which the school district has started programs with industry and then left them for business to continue. The schools should be responsible for developing curriculum, maintaining programs and providing direction.
—Robert White

Course content developed with industry is a profoundly successful way of motivating young people.
—Bob Young

Public schools will never fulfill the needs of our young people without the cooperation of our business community.
—William Johnston

ISSUE:

Tax incentives should be considered to encourage participation from organizations of all sizes—especially smaller and labor-intensive organizations—whose current involvement in career education is limited.

In identifying various types of incentives for organizational participation in career education, seminar participants discussed creation of a skill bank, reduction in the risk of hiring and satisfaction of affirmative action and public relations goals.

However, participants suggested that tax incentives might spark greater involvement by those organizations that cannot now afford to offer career education opportunities.

Participants also felt the base of involvement must be broadened to include small companies, cultural institutions and social organizations, as well as public agencies.

Specific views offered included the following:

Tax incentives are necessary as a stimulus to small agencies which are labor intensive and do not have the time large corporations have to deal with large numbers of people coming in from the outside. As we address larger categories of private enterprise activity, someone must pay for it.
—Robert Farrell

Supplementing corporate action with the efforts of smaller companies nearer to local neighborhoods is essential if we are to act quickly to satisfy the need (to provide resources for all of our youth).
—Roy Dawson

Whatever the catalyst for participation by companies, we must be concerned with all children and provide services on a total population basis.
—Robert Woodworth

THE THIRD SEMINAR

MAY 19, 1976

ISSUE:
Career information should be made available to all students.

Dialogue among participants in the May seminar was stimulated by a discussion of the purpose of education.

Many participants agreed on the critical need for basic language and computational skills. Some believed a primary thrust of education should be the identification of a student's capacities and interests, followed by development of career education activities appropriate for that student.

One participant stressed the need to develop a career information system that introduces students at a young age to the scope of options or choices available to them. Several participants emphasized the value of providing students with career information and exposing young people to various career fields.

A student participant felt that the critical thinking learned in the classroom and the opportunity to put acquired knowledge to use were both essential to the educational process.

Some specific views expressed by participants included the following:

What do we educate kids for other than survival?
—E.L. Miller

The advice we used to give of "go to school and then you will get a job" is no longer true.
—Charles Hall

Emphasis should be given to creating the link missing between education and industrial systems.
—Jerry Lennon

Choices aren't made at a particular time, but come about through a narrowing of interests and the development of abilities.
—Allen Steinberg

The implementation of career education should be delayed until the development of interpersonal skill training for staff is given equal concern.
—David Lopez Lee

SUMMARY CONFERENCE

JUNE 9, 1976

More than 60 per cent of the 53 decision-makers who participated in one of the three policy seminars joined together for a final summary conference in June to share their opinions on issues related to career education and to discuss the implications of these issues on educational policy.

The seven issues that emerged from the three seminars provided the basis for five proposed policy statements. These statements were drafted by members of The Associates Program (TAP) Committee, which assisted in coordinating the Los Angeles Career Education Policy Seminars.

Conference participants were given a response sheet for each proposed policy and asked to indicate the following:

- Their range of commitment to each policy as a decision-maker in the community and as a parent. (A 15-point scale, ranging from "strongly oppose" to "strongly support," was used to measure the degree of commitment.)
- The segment of the community that they represented (business, labor, government, parent/community organizations or education).

In addition, participants were asked to approve or disapprove proposed implementation actions for each of the policy statements.

Results of this process showed that more than 90 per cent of those responding supported or strongly supported educational policy to provide career education activities and information to all students, to expand career experience training options at the secondary school level and to establish a community-based Policy Advisory Commission to the Los Angeles Board of Education. Two-thirds of these respondents expressed a willingness to serve on this advisory commission.

Other results showed that more than 75 per cent of the respondents favored the exploration of tax incentives as a means of motivating involvement by community organizations on a massive scale in career education activities.

Responses also indicated that the difference between one's opinions as a professional (or decision-maker) and as a parent was insignificant.

The following charts illustrate the nature of the responses of each of the proposed policies and implementation actions.

The number of participants representing each segment include:

BUSINESS = 14
COMMUNITY = 2
EDUCATION = 8
GOVERNMENT = 7
LABOR = 2
N = 33

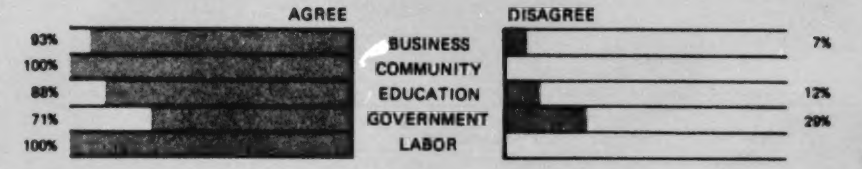
PROPOSED POLICY

A

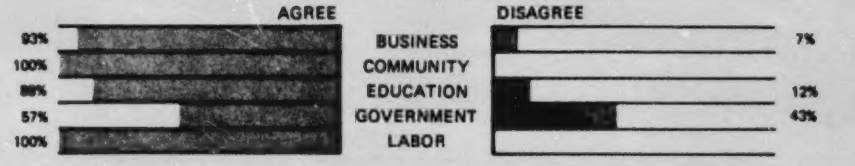
THE DISTRICT SHALL INSURE THAT EACH SCHOOL WILL PROVIDE CAREER EDUCATION EXPERIENCES/ACTIVITIES AND UNDERSTANDINGS WHICH ARE BOTH USEFUL AND APPROPRIATE FOR ALL STUDENTS UNDER THEIR (THE SCHOOLS) JURISDICTION.

PROPOSED IMPLEMENTATION ACTIONS

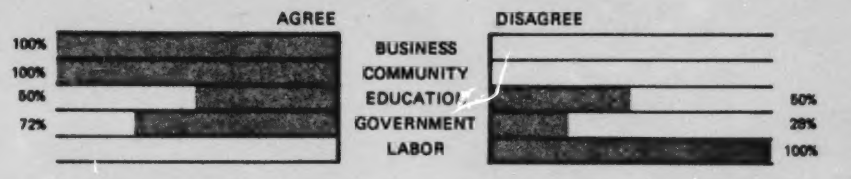
The District should conduct a District-wide assessment of all existing career education activities at all levels.



The District should develop a needs assessment instrument to determine the career education needs of students and procedural guide for use by each school.



The District should require a written implementation plan from each school.



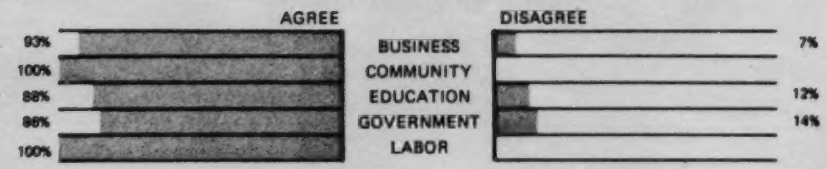
PROPOSED POLICY

B

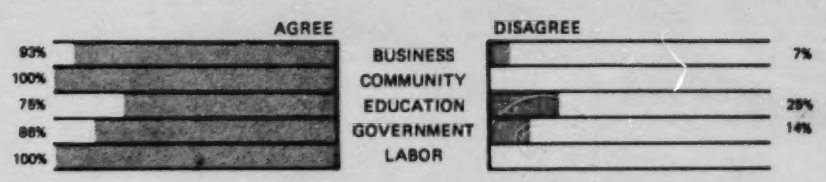
THE DISTRICT SHALL INSURE THAT EACH HIGH SCHOOL WILL PROVIDE A WIDE RANGE OF ON- AND/OR OFF-CAMPUS EXPERIENCES WHICH ENABLE STUDENTS TO GAIN POSITIVE WORK HABITS AND ATTITUDES IN THE WORLD OF WORK.

PROPOSED IMPLEMENTATION ACTIONS

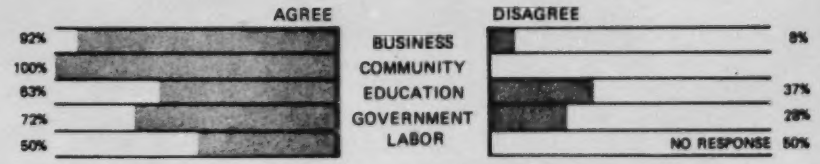
Each high school shall conduct an inventory of existing career education options available to students. This inventory shall include both on- and off-campus options.



Each high school shall develop a management and information system which distributes the coordination of these options equally among the various instructional departments.



Each Administrative Area shall establish an information control center which maintains a statistical file of these options and which is responsible for developing additional options as may be requested.



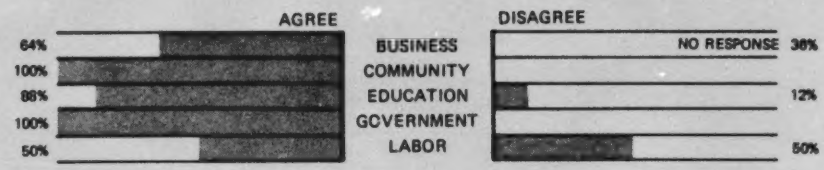
PROPOSED POLICY

C

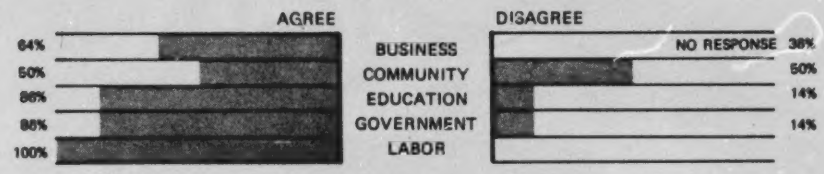
THE DISTRICT SHALL ESTABLISH AND MAINTAIN A HIGH LEVEL CAREER EDUCATION POLICY AND ADVISORY COMMISSION (PAC) FOR THE PURPOSE OF DEVELOPING A SYSTEMATIC AND RELIABLE LINKAGE WITH BUSINESS, INDUSTRY, LABOR AND GOVERNMENT.

PROPOSED IMPLEMENTATION ACTIONS

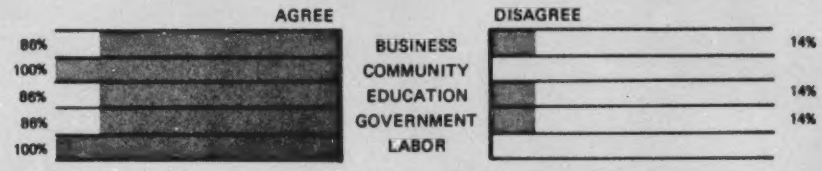
Individuals who have participated in this Career Education Policy Seminar series should form the core of the career education Policy and Advisory Commission.



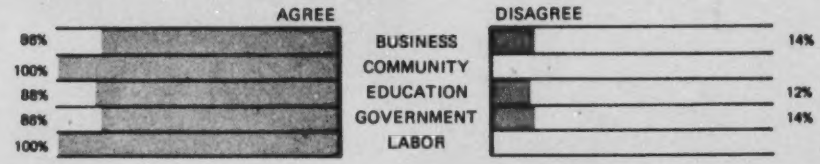
Would you be interested in being appointed as a member to this Policy and Advisory Commission?



Should your organization be represented on the Policy and Advisory Commission.



Staff resources to the Policy and Advisory Commission will be drawn from each of the twelve Administrative Areas and the Central Administrative Offices.



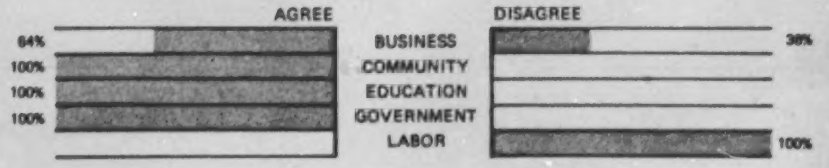
PROPOSED POLICY

D

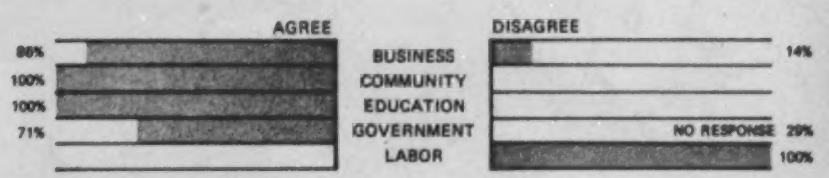
THE DISTRICT SHALL INSURE THAT A COMPREHENSIVE SYSTEM OF CAREER INFORMATION APPROPRIATE FOR STUDENTS IN DIFFERENT GRADE LEVELS BE ESTABLISHED AND AVAILABLE TO ALL STUDENTS.

PROPOSED IMPLEMENTATION ACTIONS

A select group of individuals should assist District personnel in the development of this legislation



Can you identify one individual with whom you are familiar who possesses the expertise to assist in this technical effort?



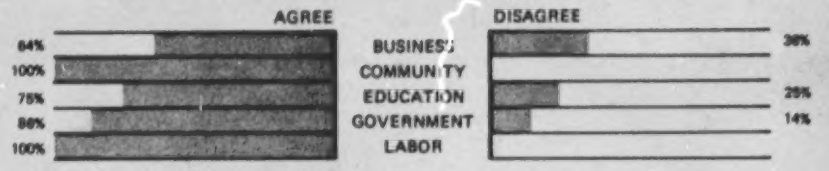
PROPOSED POLICY

E

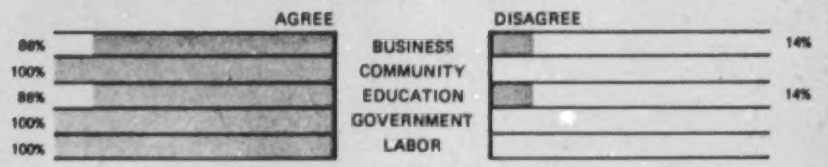
THE DISTRICT SHOULD PREPARE AND PROPOSE LEGISLATION WHICH WOULD GRANT TO THOSE ORGANIZATIONS WHICH UPON REQUEST PROVIDE CAREER EDUCATION AND TRAINING EXPERIENCES (FOR SECONDARY LEVEL STUDENTS), A FINANCIAL REIMBURSEMENT IN THE FORM OF A TAX CREDIT.

PROPOSED IMPLEMENTATION ACTIONS

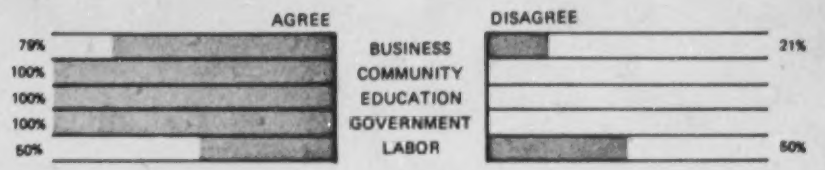
A sub-system of career information which provides general career awareness will be made available to elementary level students.



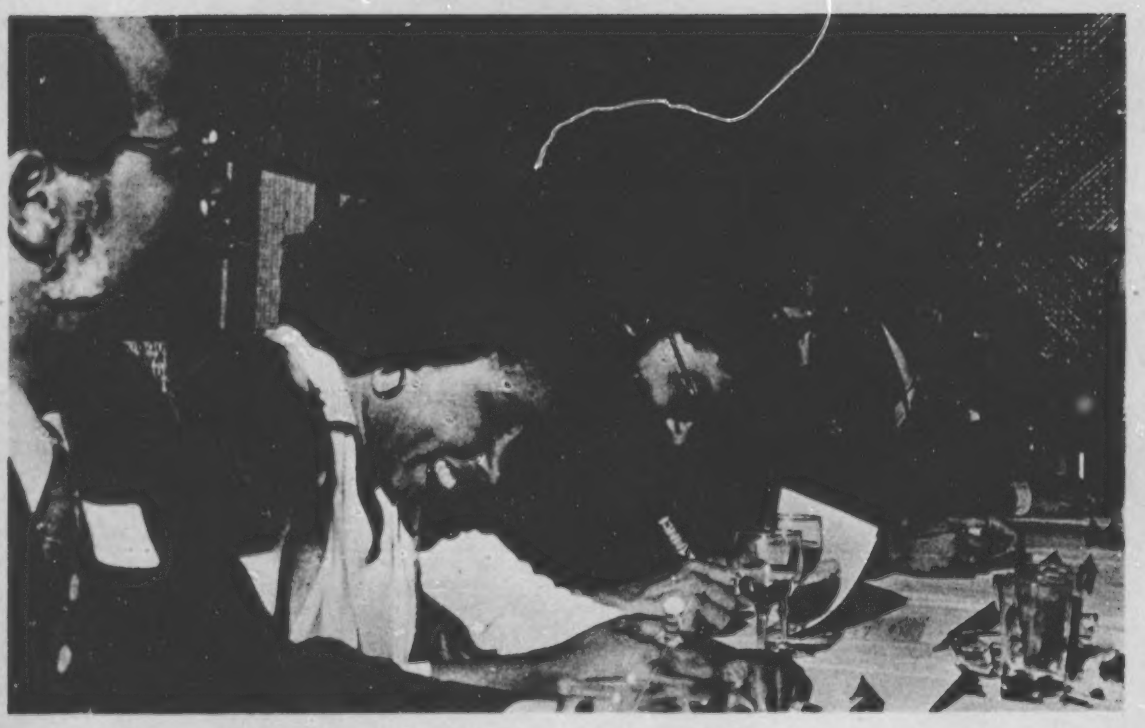
A sub-system of career information which provides specific descriptions and career projects will be made available to secondary and adult level students.



Teachers and counselors should participate in periodic internships within the business, industrial, labor, and governmental sectors of our economy to insure both accuracy and currency of their understanding of the real world of work.



CONCLUSION



The policies and implementation actions developed through the three seminars and the seminar conference offer a clear direction for career education in Los Angeles.

By generating dialogue and a consensus among key decision-makers in the community, the Career Education Policy Seminars resulted in a firm commitment to the concept of career education in our public schools and stimulated a strong desire among the participants for continued involvement in the educational decision-making process.

The direction and commitment that emerged from this seminar series can be extremely important factors in strengthening and broadening career education in our city schools. However, sufficient financial resources must also be assured if students are to realize the full impact and benefits of the policies and implementation actions formed and endorsed by the seminar participants.

A NOTE OF APPRECIATION

We in Los Angeles are grateful to the Institute for providing the funds and leadership to carry out these highly productive policy-making seminars in our community.

In addition, we very much appreciate the thoughts and commitment of each of the decision-makers who participated in this program. We also wish to commend members of the seminar committee who laid the groundwork for positive interaction among diverse segments of the community.

Through open dialogue, participants were indeed able to discuss and appraise the concept of career education. Our purpose was simply to examine career education policies and gain a sense of direction as a school district. All of us who were involved in this effort can take satisfaction in the fact that we did accomplish this purpose and accomplished it well.

The commitment and direction that grew out of the Los Angeles Career Education Policy Seminars will greatly enhance what is proving to be an outstanding program of career education for the students of Los Angeles.

Abram Friedman

Associate, IEL

R. A. Sampieri

Seminar Moderator

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MR. ABRAM FRIEDMAN, Assistant Superintendent
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THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING IN WASHINGTON

Report of the First Washington Policy Seminar

of the

Career Education Policy Project

Washington, D.C.
January 13-16, 1976

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EDUCATIONAL POLICY-MAKING IN WASHINGTON

Report of the First Washington Policy Seminar of the Career Education Policy Project

The Institute for Educational Leadership is indebted to Ian McNett, who attended all sessions of the Washington Policy Seminar and prepared this report.

Washington, D.C.
January 13-16, 1976

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY	----------	A Primer on Washington Educational Policy	p. ii
I.	----------	Introduction: "Worth More Than Any College Course"	p. 1
II.	----------	A Limited Role	p. 3
III.	----------	Some Current Realities	p. 5
IV.	----------	The Ripple of the Future	p. 9
V.	----------	The Policy Maze	p. 13
VI.	----------	Working the System	p. 17
VII.	----------	Evaluation: "Now I Feel A Part of American Government"	p. 20

APPENDICES

A.	----------	Career Education Policy Project Profile
B.	----------	Seminar Schedule
C.	----------	List of Participants

SUMMARY: A PRIMER ON WASHINGTON EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Some highlights of the three and one-half day Washington Policy Seminar of the Career Education Policy Project of the Institute for Educational Leadership, held in Washington on January 13 to 16, 1976:

The Federal Role

There is no one Federal role, but many roles exemplified in categorical programs. These include:

- .Provision of educational services and program for disadvantaged students
- .Staff development of teachers at the elementary and secondary level and all staff areas at the postsecondary level
- .Support of educational research to improve elementary and secondary education and research in all policy areas at the universities
- .Stimulus of educational reform through research and incentives to schools and colleges
- .Residual programs such as impact aid and vocational education that started as reforms and lived as categorical programs

The Current Scene

- .No major new programs in support of education
- .Consolidation, refinement, and fine tuning of existing programs
- .A growing emphasis on decentralization of educational decision-making to the States in the form of block grants and revenue-sharing
- .Overall spending ceilings forcing education to compete more intensely for Federal money just to maintain the current level of support
- .Federal demand for evidence that education dollars make a difference
- .Continued bureaucratization of the Executive Branch and the beginnings of bureaucracy in Congress

Future Trends

.Uncertain picture after 1976 elections

.Greater Congressional emphasis on fiscal responsibility

.Disillusionment of teachers who are organizing to get more money for education when there is no more money to be had

.Declining enrollments taking the pressure off all levels of government

.Lower economic payoff from college degree shifting motivations for attending college

.More limited public expectations of education's ability to accelerate social change

.Greater Federal interest in income maintenance and transfer programs

.A sorting out of government roles in education with a marked drift toward an enhanced role for the States

.Emphasis in Federal policy on demand rather than supply side with the focus away from training people for jobs and providing an adequate quantity and quality of jobs

The Policy Scene

.Central role for the Office of Management and Budget in helping establish spending ceilings and clearing legislative proposals

.Decentralized policy-making in Congress, the Executive Branch, interest groups, and the courts

.Shift in source of policy ideas in bureaucracy from the program offices to the cabinet levels and the White House

.Policy structure one of bewildering complexity

.Complexity consuming much time for formulating policies and programs

Working the System

.Information is important. Policy-makers need to know the impact of the decisions they have made and evidence to support decisions they want to make.

.Different systems need different kinds of information. Congress always welcomes anecdotes and human interest stories that give character to hard facts; the bureaucracy wants defensible quantitative data.

.Know your Congressman and his staff people. Also identify key members of Congress in educational policy and get to know their staff people.

.The best place to influence a Member of Congress is at home. Schedule events for Members of Congress to attend.

.Make friends before you need them.

.Build alliances. The larger the group speaking with one voice the more attention will be paid to the group's ideas.

.Take small steps towards the ideal solution without losing sight of it. In Washington, change is incremental rather than revolutionary.

Career Education Picture

.Career education is not universally loved in Washington. It must establish itself as a permanent part of the educational landscape.

.No-one in Washington speaks exclusively in the interest of career education. But it does have friends in associations and Congress with whom career educators can work.

.There will be no vast new sums of Federal money for career education. It will have to fight for what it gets.

I. INTRODUCTION: "WORTH MORE THAN ANY COLLEGE COURSE"

The operations and policy processes of the Federal Government and the Congress are similar in kind to but vastly different in scale from those of State and local governments. Washington seems remote from the day-to-day concerns of people who operate educational programs. With its multiplicity of layers and players, the Federal Government dwarfs all others in the American system in terms of size, complexity, and the amount of money spent. But much too little is known about it by the nation's educational leaders whose professional causes and destinies are coming increasingly to be affected by it. To familiarize career educators with the complexities of the Washington scene, how it works, and who makes it work, the Career Education Policy Project (CEPP) of the Institute for Educational Leadership (IEL) designed and conducted an intensive three and one-half day Washington Policy Seminar for twenty-seven career educators from January 13 to 16, 1976. In 13 information-jammed sessions, the participants heard from bureaucrats, Members of Congress, Congressional staff aides, lobbyists, education association representatives, journalists and independent observers of the Washington policy scene.

After exposure to twenty-six speakers and panelists, Anita Barber, Career Education Coordinator, Alabama Department of Education, declared, "This was worth much more than any college course. It was the best experience I have ever had in learning about government and law."

The seminarists, a talented and attentive group of leaders in their growing movement, were exposed to a variety of points of view, differing political perspectives, the bureaucracy, the Congress, lobbying, personalities, and current and future trends in the Federal role in education. Some of them learned new phrases, concepts and organizations--uncontrollable and controllable expenditures, rescissions and deferrals, OMB, the Congressional Budget Office, and so forth.

In turn, the career educators from local school districts, State education agencies, and higher education institutions provided a fresh perspective for the speakers and panelists, who have important roles in shaping educational policy at the Federal level. Understanding and information flowed both ways.

The Seminar was designed to provide the career educators with "an educational policy map of Washington." And in those three-plus days, the policy cartographers outlined the highways, biways, roadblocks, and detours in Washington policy-making for education. There were a number of major and minor themes.

First, the participants quickly came to understand that the Federal role in education, while larger than a generation ago, remains relatively limited in size but is perhaps exceptionally large in influence and leadership. The government tends to try to provide programs in areas of national concern that have not been dealt with at the State and local levels. The result is a number of policies and roles for Washington, not just one. And the map has changed in the past ten years. Instead of bold new programs to reform education and change the social system, the interest is now in consolidation, refinement, and fine tuning of existing programs. The execution of educational policy, whether launching sweeping new ventures or tinkering with existing ones, takes place in an environment of bewildering complexity and less than deliberate speed. Policy is made and influenced everywhere, but some Washington actors have more influence than others.

The Seminar provided an insight into lobbying for education, especially in the arena of legislation. There were many practical hints on how to have an impact on policy decisions--whom to see, when to see them, and what to say once you have a policy-maker's attention. Indeed, it was at times an inadvertent "live" experience, for many of the speakers and panelists were themselves the very decision-makers the career educators needed most to understand, and the opportunity was not wasted. At the end, the participants were asked to evaluate the Seminar. The innate modesty of the Institute inhibits describing how the participants rated it. Suffice to say that IEL is proud of its effort. What follows is a fuller discussion of the highlights and major themes that emerged during the seminar.

II. A LIMITED ROLE

There is no one Federal role in education and no single Federal education policy. Instead, there are a number of policies which Washington has adopted to address national concerns that policy-makers perceived were not being met at State and local levels.

Michael Timpane, a senior researcher in the Rand Corporation's Washington office, outlined the major Federal roles in education in a policy overview that opened the Seminar. Washington policy-makers have consciously deferred to an "ethic of local control and State constitutional responsibility for education," asserted Timpane, a former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Educational Planning in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

He was echoed by Phillip Austin, Deputy Assistant HEW Secretary for Policy Development, who said, "I am comfortable with the notion that the Federal role is a limited role, based on history, the revenue generation ability of jurisdictions and the fact that the jurisdictions closest to the people are the most responsible."

Due to self-imposed limitations, Federal educational policy-makers are "committed to work with indirect tools," Timpane explained. Patsy Fleming, research assistant for the House Rules Committee, said, "Washington sends messages to the school districts with programs. Educational policy is expressed through current programs."

Timpane listed five areas in which the Federal government has chosen to play a role in educational policy.

1. Federal policy has a "general equal opportunity thrust," Timpane said. It tries to promote education by targeting its resources on various disadvantaged populations. The "messages" are carried in, among others, such programs as Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, bilingual education programs, Indian education, programs for the handicapped, and student aid programs and special services for disadvantaged students at the postsecondary level.

2. The Federal government has a commitment to support research at two levels, according to Timpane. First is educational research focused primarily on elementary and secondary education. Second, the government supports research at higher education institutions in "every area of public policy." The areas include defense, health, mental health, transportation, space, and all the areas supported by programs of the National Science Foundation.

3. Professional training is a third area where the Federal government plays a role in education. It includes the training of teachers and other educational professionals through the Education Professions Development Act (scheduled to expire on June 30, 1976) and the Teacher Corps. All kinds of professional training are supported at the higher education level. Teachers and researchers are trained with funds provided by the various research programs.

4. The Federal role in educational reform is allied with the research idea, Timpane said. Federal reform efforts are aimed at priorities which seem at the Federal level to need support. The government does two things in this arena. "It throws money at the problem in the form of subsidies and incentives", and it tries to stimulate leadership. "The Federal government supplies modest monies which have a substantial leadership effect", Timpane said.

5. The last area in which the Federal government plays a role in education was called "residual" by Timpane. These include programs like vocational education and impact aid, which were once regarded as reforms. "Old reforms never die, they become categorical programs," Timpane noted.

Timpane noted policy areas that were not in his list. One was general aid to education, which has never attracted sufficient support to become a Federal policy, although efforts were made as long ago as the 1950's. Another policy area absent from the list is oversight responsibility which is the result of "a very clear decision," Timpane stressed. "It never came close to being enacted."

Overall, then, the Federal government has limited, specific, and targeted goals for its educational policies. It focuses on limited targets, with the weight of policy tilted towards equity and equality of educational opportunity.

III. SOME CURRENT REALITIES

The current position of education in the Federal policy structure is exemplified in the career of Representative Timothy E. Wirth (D.-Colorado), a former Deputy Assistant Secretary of HEW for Educational Planning who achieved an upset victory in 1974 with strong support from organized teachers. Wirth told the career educators that ten years ago he would have sought a seat on the House Education and Labor Committee, because that was where the action was and where his commitment and knowledge were. Instead, Wirth chose committee assignments that would give him a voice in national energy policy on the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and Science and Technology.

Wirth emphasized that efforts to hold down the price of energy would have a larger impact on school budgets than any efforts he and others could make on behalf of direct support for education.

The Seminar participants were introduced to the mysteries of uncontrollable and controllable programs by Wirth and Harley M. Dirks, professional staff member of the Senate Appropriations Committee. They explained that uncontrollable spending went to programs under which the legislation obligated the government to provide money for all qualified applicants. These include social security, unemployment compensation, veterans benefits, and welfare payments. Education, health, and national defense are examples of controllable programs. Legislation in these areas establishes a spending ceiling, but the Executive Branch and Congress can and usually do choose to spend less than the maximum authorization.

With a ceiling on total spending, the rise of uncontrollable spending leaves less of the Federal funding pie to be divided among the controllable programs such as education and health. This generates fierce competition among various special interests for a very limited slice. Wirth and several other speakers stressed the need for educators to work harder just to hold the current bottom line support for education.

His comments led one career educator to state plaintively, "We'd be better off if education were an uncontrollable."

Wirth stressed the need for reform of uncontrollable programs to free money for education. Much of his attention and energy, he said, is focused on controlling the uncontrollables through reform. Unemployment benefits have zoomed to a point where they consumed forty billion dollars in a two-year period, more than was spent in the entire previous history of the program. Social security benefits also continue to rocket because of increases in the amount of benefits and the number of applicants.

The Nixon and Ford Administrations have made the control of Federal spending a number one priority, and many battles over education appropriations have been waged around this issue. Now, "Congress is getting into the ceiling business," declared Dirks, who has major staff responsibility for health, education, and welfare appropriations.

Congressional entry into the spending ceiling business is wrapped in uncertainty, said Richard Smith, a former Associate Counsel of the Senate Education Subcommittee. The new responsibility was self-imposed in legislation that established a Congressional Budget Office and Budget Committees in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. At the very least, education will have to fight harder for its share of Federal dollars under limitations established by the Budget Committees. Whether these will be higher or lower than the ceilings demanded by the Administration cannot be predicted.

In line with the general Washington posture that if anything can be made more complicated and protracted it will be, the legislation establishing the Congressional budget process also gave the Administration authority to request "deferrals and rescissions." This process was explained by Michael Resnick, Director of Legislative Services, National School Boards Association, and Chairman of the Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs. Resnick viewed rescissions and deferrals as a way to delay and perhaps kill appropriations that have been made by Congress.

He said a rescission is a request for Congress to "unappropriate" money. "While a rescission request is outstanding, it cuts the cash flow for forty-five days, at which point it dies, unless Congress approves," Resnick explained. A deferral request will cut off the cash flow for a fiscal year quarter unless Congress objects. Since a deferral can follow a rescission request, the Administration can delay the spending of money until near the end of a fiscal year when it can be argued that the money will not be wisely spent anyway, according to Resnick.

Combined with the current economic and fiscal realities is the effort of the Administration to consolidate categorical programs into general purpose block grants for the States. The emphasis is on decentralization of decision-making back to the State and local level, said Albert Alford, Assistant USOE Commissioner for Legislation. Along with the consolidation thrust of the Administration, Congress in the still-to-be-passed Education Amendments of 1976 is interested in refining and fine-tuning existing legislation, said William Cable, Counsel for the House Education and Labor Committee. "Congress will be trying to use what it has in a better and more efficient way," Cable explained.

Some speakers felt that the change towards a block grant approach and other signals meant the end of a special Federal focus on the poor and disadvantaged. They feared that general purpose block grants would tend to flow toward the more affluent schools and students, leaving the poor and disadvantaged without the special funds they started receiving with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Dirks said consolidation would mean fewer Federal dollars and less identity for education.

The economic situation of the country may further attenuate the amount of support for poor students, said Fleming, the House Rules Committee aide. She said the higher education proposals before the House Education and Labor Committee seek to open the compensatory aid funds to middle class families which have been hit hard by the recession and inflation. "Since the Federal education budget is not keeping up with inflation, if programs for the poor are opened to the middle class, some students will lose out," Fleming asserted.

With a shrinking Federal dollar for education, inflation, and budget constraints has come the quest for accountability. Executive Branch officials and Members of Congress want to know what they are getting for the money they spend. Dirks said in regard to educational research, "We want to get a bigger bang for our bucks."

Judith Miller, Washington correspondent for The Progressive magazine, also stressed the need for education and educational researchers to be more accountable for the Federal money they spend. She urged that education learn to establish priorities--"things we can't do without"--as has been done by the hard science and biomedical research community. Congress would prefer that educators tell them what is indispensible and what is not, Miller emphasized.

"The education lobby has never been able to police itself," she said. "They say, 'We can't cut; we're stretched to the limit.' That leaves it up to Congress to cut education funds. They don't like it, but they will do it."

Miller underscored her point with specific examples of Congressional willingness to cut education and research funds. During the last fiscal year, she said, Congress cut two million dollars from the proposed budget of the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE), ten million dollars in National Institute of Education (NIE) funds, and gave the National Science Foundation its smallest increase in recent years.

Often, Miller said, Congress will seek out and find seemingly frivolous projects as a justification for cutting education budgets. In the case of FIPSE, she said, Senator Joseph Biden, a former school teacher, was outraged to find the agency supporting an indoor

cable television project that offered courses in tennis, indoor gardening, and "parenting".

Both Miller and Dirks stressed the difficulty of selling educational research to Congress and the voters. "The pressure is not great to provide additional funds," Dirks noted. He conceded that the committee had been tough on NIE. "We're hoping NIE will be able to say what it did with the seventy million dollars, what difference it made or will make if we give it money for next year."

IV. THE RIPPLE OF THE FUTURE

The crystal balls into which Washington policy prognosticators gaze these days are cloudier than usual. Nobody at the Seminar was willing to predict what might happen after the November elections or what the ultimate effect of the new Congressional budget process would be. Smith foresaw a period of turbulence and chaos in the policy scene. In spite of the uncertainties, there seemed to be some current and emerging trends that could be expected to continue or accelerate over the next few years. And there was one startling prediction.

Smith predicted that the Federal government would provide public education with one-third of its operating support in the 1980's compared to the current level of about six percent. Bruce Perlstein, an Education Policy Fellow based in Massachusetts, challenged Smith for evidence for a prediction that seemed to run against all current trends. "It's more instinctive on my part," Smith conceded. But he said he believed that local school systems would begin to collapse under their financial burdens and that the Federal government would be forced to pick up the pieces.

Most speakers expected, however, that the current modest level of support for education would continue without much drastic change for the next several years. Samuel Halperin, IEL's Director, and former Deputy Assistant Secretary of HEW for Legislation, told the participants that almost nobody in Congress was against education anymore, although education didn't have many really intense supporters either. This assertion was backed up by two members of the Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs--Resnick and Jerold Roschwalb, Director of Governmental Relations for Higher Education of the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges. They and other speakers repeatedly stressed that educators would have to work harder to maintain the current level of support.

Timpane offered some emerging trends and changes of direction from his perspective as the opening "big picture" speaker for the Seminar. He called these trends "coming issues." Some were issues that established a context for policy and others were alterations of the policy course.

First, Timpane asserted, demography as reflected in declining enrollments would remove the pressure on all levels of government, and the Federal government in particular, to provide greater resources for education. It would offer the opportunity for a catching up and leveling out in phase in terms of teacher salaries and parents' demands for quantitative and qualitative changes in education, Timpane said.

A second contextual trend was that the economic payoff from post-secondary education would not be as great as during the 1960's. Timpane said that there were estimates that the payoff from a college education was about eleven to thirteen percent a year over that of a high school diploma in the 1960's. "It's going to be a much closer call in the next couple of years," Timpane said. "People will go to college for other reasons--to get credentials, to move up a notch on the career ladder, or just to get an education."

Public opinion will expect less of education in terms of social policy. "Expectations will be limited and people won't believe exalted claims," Timpane said. Another emerging issue is the coming organization of the education professions by organized labor, he said.

"Relative to other Federal social policies, education will be in the middle of the scale," Timpane asserted. "There will be a lot more emphasis on income transfer and maintenance programs." Areas of priority will include welfare, social security, and employment policy. The government, he said, will deliver resources in dollars for individual and family needs. In terms of labor market policy, the government will place more emphasis on the demand than the supply side. Instead of training teachers and students, the government will seek to provide an adequate quantity and quality of jobs.

Overall, Timpane saw no major realignment of Federal education policies, but predicted that programs "may become more adequately funded." Bernard Martin, Chief, Economics-Science-General Government Branch, Office of Management and Budget, agreed, noting, "There will be a series of continuing disputes between Congress and the Executive Branch over the appropriate Federal role and resources. Education as a subject of policy will not be as high on the domestic agenda as environment, health, and social welfare policy."

In terms of coming changes, Timpane said the Federal role in special education and the education of the handicapped would continue to develop.

Second, he said, "The Federal government will have to reinvent staff development." But the staff development will have a different focus than in the past when there was a shortage of teachers. Declining enrollments mean that schools will have less staff turnover and fewer opportunities for promotion. "There is a desperate need for new staff development programs that have not been invented yet," Timpane asserted.

The government will continue to support student aid, graduate education, and research at the postsecondary level. And finally, Timpane predicted the passage of a Federal collective bargaining law to cover public employees, including teachers.

Donald A. Casella, Director, Office of Career Development, University of Alabama, wondered if, in view of the increased interest in programs focused on helping individuals, there would be a "comparable thrust in education."

Timpane responded: "At the higher education level, we're not that far away from a voucher system." The student aid package is close to allowing students to carry their dollars to the institution that will sell them the kind of education they want, Timpane said. He offered the possibility that the student aid approach could become more flexible in terms of when the student would spend the aid money and how long it would be available.

Wirth, the freshman Congressman, had a prediction of his own. He saw a strong effort on the part of teacher orgnizations to organize teachers to influence educational policy and to work for more money in education. He said he was afraid that when the teachers became organized they would find that the money was not available. "There will be a collapse," Wirth said. "The movement will be set back seven or eight years because expectations will be raised but the money won't be there." The teachers' movement probably would not recover until the early or middle 1980's, he stated.

Another shift at the Federal level is the way policy is made in the bureaucracy. During the 1960's, ideas for new programs often floated up from the program officers in the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) and were picked up by the top leadership in the USOE, the HEW Department, and the White House, said Alford of USOE's legislative office. Now, he said, ideas for new departures come from the top leadership and are passed down to the program people for fleshing out.

Like life itself, nothing is fixed in concrete in Washington except the monuments. Policy formulation and direction are usually matters of emphasis and slight shifts rather than fixed ideas and radical departures, the speakers stressed.

In an exchange with the career educators, Wirth summarized the place of educational policy-making in the 1970's. They wanted to know if he would support a particular piece of career education legislation, the Perkins'Bill, which Wirth preferred to talk about in terms of the larger picture of finding a handle to reform and control now uncontrollable spending. At some point Wirth referred to potential savings of a few million dollars as "nickels and dimes."

One participant shot back that it might be nickels and dimes to Congress, but for career educators it was a lot of money. "We're trying to get some of those nickels and dimes," the participant

declared. Wirth conceded that while there would be no big new programs, "we can jiggle at the edges; priorities can be made at the edges" of the enormous and enormously complicated Federal spending struggle.

V. THE POLICY MAZE

It is not possible in a summary of a summary to indicate more than the key complexities and some of the participants of the Washington policy scene. Timpane and Smith both listed the four major actors in policy-making--the Executive Branch, Congress, the education associations, and the courts. Speakers also emphasized the interactive nature of the maze, both across bureaucratic, membership, and power lines and within organizations.

Who Makes Policy?

Smith, who called himself a "Parliament man" said that the education associations had some influence on educational policy, the Executive Branch none, but "the primary force in policy-making is in the Congress." He argued that the Administration during the past six to eight years was killing its own influence in educational policy because its primary interest is money.

Most speakers would argue that Smith had overstated his case. However, his assertion that the Administration was interested primarily in money, and holding the line on Federal expenditures, was backed up by other speakers. Economic policy is the name of the domestic game in Washington these days. This places the Office of Management and Budget, which the monthly Washingtonian called "the Agency that Loves to Hate," in a central position to shape educational policy. Ultimately, all budget requests and all legislative proposals must be cleared and approved by the OMB, which, Martin said, is the servant of the President.

But even OMB is not in a position to say what programs will be started. Its function is one of coordination and management. With the President, it can have an influence on which programs will be terminated and which programs will have their spending reduced.

Cora Beebe, Director of the Office of Education's Planning and Budget Division, explained how educational decisions trickle through the bureaucracy. The Budget Division starts in January to formulate a five-year plan and to try to sort out the priorities for the coming year in terms of that plan, she explained. Every proposal and budget request must be cleared with the office of the HEW Secretary and ultimately with the White House and the OMB. Office of Education requests are weighed at the Secretary's office with all other education, health, and welfare proposals. After the secretary establishes his priorities, said Beebe, the White House and OMB consider how the HEW proposals fit into national economic and program priorities. Ideas

that start in U.S. Office of Education program offices tend to shrink and alter as they percolate up through the bureaucratic filter.

After everything has been cleared and fitted together, the President sends his budget and legislative proposals to Congress for action by the legislative and appropriations committees of both Houses, and for action on the floor and in conference committee. Every piece of testimony in support of the President's program goes through the same clearance process.

"There are many levels," Beebe said. "Since 1965, the addition of levels and gatekeepers had increased each year by a magnitude of two. The volume of paperwork is fantastic." By the time a proposal has worked its way through the administrative and Congressional policy process, Beebe said, it often is unrecognizable--if it survives at all.

To add to the complexity of the process there are interactions among all levels of the bureaucracy. There is constant feedback from OMB to the HEW Department and the Office of Education, and education officials get a chance to argue their case at both the departmental level and at the White House.

While not as complex as the bureaucracy, Congress is not a simple place to understand. There is the division between the legislative process, which says what the money will be spent for and tries to indicate how much will be spent, and the appropriations process, which determines how much money will actually be spent. And there are differences in style and approach between the House and Senate.

In both Houses, the staff personnel of Congressional Members and the committees play an important role in the formulation of policy, according to Smith. In the Senate, with only 100 Members, a Senator may have to stretch his time and energy among three major committees and a dozen subcommittees. This causes Senators to specialize and to rely more heavily on their staff members than is true in the House, Smith said.

He explained that there may be 12 to 15 Members of Congress who play an important role in the formulation of educational policy. For example, he said, Senator Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) is the expert on adult education. Nothing happens in adult education unless Javits approves, Smith asserted. On the House side, he said Representative John Brademas (D-Ind.) provides the intellectual leadership for educational policy. "It is hard to think of a major policy decision that Brademas did not support, favor, or understand," Smith asserted.

In the Senate, he said, the staff professionals are the eyes and ears of the Senators. Because of the widespread interests of the Senators, the staff members tend to have considerable influence on the making of policy.

The House, with 435 Members, tends to limit the policy-making powers of the staff members. Representatives serve on fewer committees and can therefore focus more intently on specific issues. Cable, the Counsel for the Education and Labor Committee, said, "I firmly believe your elected Members of Congress should make educational policy. We staff members have no business making policy. My job is to make my boss's process of arriving at a conclusion easier for him." However, Cable conceded that the House committee staffs "clearly do a substantial amount of sorting, limiting options, and presenting alternatives. By presenting options, we do have an opportunity to affect policy," he said.

A third force in educational policy-making is the educational associations which have Washington offices, particularly those with government relations operations. Smith said that every job and function at the local school level has a national organization with a Washington office. Halperin estimated that there are more than 500 national associations in Washington with new ones coming all the time. In addition, 22 governors' offices, some cities, and countless individual colleges and universities maintain offices in Washington.

The educational associations have been most effective in lobbying for appropriations. They have formed a coalition among themselves which, as the Committee for the Full Funding of Education Programs, joins in common cause to obtain maximum funding for education. The committee has had mixed success, but was instrumental in persuading Congress to override Presidential vetoes of education appropriations bills. Four years ago, said Roschwalb, the committee lost an override attempt by seven votes. "We all gathered at the Congressional Hotel to weep. Representative Tom Steed of Oklahoma showed up with a big smile on his face and offered his congratulations. The disappointed lobbyists wondered why. Steed said he had been in Congress 18 years and it was the first time on the floor of the Congress that he had heard educators called sons of bitches."

The reason the Committee has been successful, Roschwalb explained, is because the members agree on how the education pie should be divided and then support the whole package in the legislative struggle. After the initial agreement, each association is responsible for mobilizing its own membership to speak on behalf of the agreement.

The courts represent the fourth dimension of the policy process. Their primary interest, Timpane asserted, is in assuring the constitu-

tionality of the law and equal protection and due process under law. "If there is an absence of procedural due process in education, the judges cannot stay out of the cases."

VI. WORKING THE SYSTEM

Many of the speakers at the Seminar offered the career educators helpful hints on how to influence educational policy at the national level. Perhaps the first and cardinal rule is to know your Congressman and his staff people. A second, offered by Senator William D. Hathaway (D-Me.), a member of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee and prominent supporter of career education in the Senate was, "Establish and maintain an ongoing working relationship with Congressional policy-makers and their staffs. . . Persistent, informative contacts, both in Washington and in your home State legislative district, can give you a champion for your ideas, if they are good ones."

Dirks and Halperin underscored the idea that the best time to see Members of Congress was when they were home. Even in an election year, Halperin said, Members of Congress spend a lot of time figuring out how to spend their time at home. He suggested that Members be invited to visit schools or projects in their own district or state. "Don't talk at people. Give them just enough information so they can see for themselves. The things they remember are the things they experience, not words," Halperin advised.

George Kaplan, Coordinator of the Career Education Policy Project, said it was difficult to corner busy people. Congressmen usually come home on weekends, and people who want to influence them should be able to accommodate the Congressional schedule. Cable warned: "Don't just focus on Brademas or (Carl) Perkins (Chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee). They're already convinced. Your own Congressman is most important."

Halperin interjected a lobbying aphorism from President Lyndon B. Johnson: "The time to make friends is before you need them." "Members of Congress, he added, "often stand around figuring out ways to get invitations to see the voters back home."

Merlin S. Olsen, Director, Career Education, Powell, Wyoming, High School, asked, "How much advance notice should we give to schedule a meeting like this?"

Cable said, "Don't schedule a meeting, give the Congressman options."

Hathaway offered another bit of advice on working the policy system: "Don't fail to be sensitive to the fact that legislators have many different issues to follow--but that their staffers are capable of spending more concentrated efforts on individual projects and ideas." He also advised building partnerships and alliances in promoting ideas.

"In the political process," Hathaway said, "the larger the group that can speak with a unified voice, the more attention will be paid to its ideas."

A third rule he offered for good lobbying was to keep proposals and requests "firmly grounded in current realities and experiences. Recognize that giant steps forward are rarely made overnight in this city, except on issues of sudden burning significance."

"Finally, you must concentrate your efforts on providing Congress the information we require to set and attain reasonable goals for the growth of sound educational ideas." He reminded the participants that they can help fill in the gaps that committee and personal staffs have not the time to gather. "Taking a bill to the floor of the Senate without adequate supporting information will make you nostalgic for the good old days of the Spanish Inquisition," Hathaway commented.

Information seems to be the currency of the public policy process. Different people seek different kinds of information. Halperin said Members of Congress love anecdotes and human interest stories about real people, preferably in their own districts. Beebe and Martin emphasized that Executive Branch officials want hard quantitative data that show that educational policies and programs are having a beneficial impact. "We don't want testimonials that the students like it, that the teachers like it, or that the parents like it," Beebe asserted.

Although the current Administration is not seen as a strong advocate of Federal support of education, Halperin warned against putting all of the lobbying eggs in one Congressional basket. "You can't afford to ignore the Executive Branch," Halperin emphasized. "The people who work in the Executive Branch are often naked and when asked to do things they don't know what to do. They don't have the information about what's working or how people feel."

He said the Executive Branch, like Congress, needs information about what is working and what is not. He conceded the difficulty of providing solid evidence that programs are working because the instruments for measuring educational effectiveness are primitive and imprecise.

On another issue, Halperin and Kaplan warned the career educators not to expect education officials to espouse causes which are contrary to Administrative policy. "When you work for the Executive Branch, you are not a free agent," Halperin said. "There is only one boss--the President." Once a policy is reached in the White House, the bureaucrat has two choices, Kaplan notes. He can either support the policy or, if he disagrees strongly enough, he can and should resign.

Halperin said, "In education it would be a horrendous mistake to divide along partisan lines. Most education bills today are supported by a majority of both parties.

Near the end of the seminar, Wirth and some of the career educators agreed that the overall assessment for education was gloomy. Halperin said, "On the issue of whether things are gloomy or not gloomy, I think it is not a gloomy picture but a changed picture. Now we are going to have to work harder for everything we have."

That message was a major message of the Seminar. Education will continue to attract support. But educators will have to work much harder than in the past just to stay even and make small gains.

VII. EVALUATION: "NOW I FEEL A PART OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT"

At the end of the Seminar, IEL solicited an evaluation of the program by the career education participants, both as individuals and as groups. Generally, the career educators said the quality of the program, its contents, the speakers, and the format were exceedingly high.

Was the Seminar a useful learning experience? One group responded, "Yes, educators do not know enough about this kind of process." Another group said the Seminar "will produce results." Robert J. Edmondson, Director, Career Education Programs, Briston, Connecticut, Career Education Center, said the Seminar was "very useful and benefincial to me personally." And Brenda Dykes, Career Education Coordinator, Sulphur Springs, Texas, School District, declared, "I never did find government exciting until I went through this Seminar. Now, I feel a part of American government. No longer do I possess that feeling of being an outsider with no influence."

In terms of what was learned, Ben A. Yormark, Director, Career Development, Highline Public Schools, Seattle, Washington, said, "I began to understand the big picture in finance and gained an insight into the problems ahead." "I learned that bureaucratic and Congressional staff members are honest, hard-working people," said John C. Shirley, Career Education Coordinator, Region Ten Education Service Center, Richardson, Texas.

The Seminar divided into four groups to evaluate the three-plus day effort. Out of the four assessments came agreement that these were the main things the participants learned:

- .Where and how to exert pressure most effectively.
- .Insight into ways policy-makers perceive appropriations and directions in next few years.
- .Importance of relaying messages to policy-makers.
- .How the political process works and doesn't work.
- .How special interest groups work.
- .A feel for the interactive process of policy-making and its complexities.

.An understanding of the more effective ways of penetrating the system.

.The impact of the Office of Management and Budget in the policy-making process.

.Insight into the personalities and politics played out in Washington.

The participants said the Seminar would help them in their own career by making them more effective in dealing with policy formation. One group reported that the experience would "help us be able to interpret activities and actions and to apply what we have learned intelligently." Another group saw the potential for a "direct transfer of knowledge gained to the State and local level." Primo V. Toccafondi, Coordinator, Career Education, Newark, Delaware, School District, asserted, "I learned not to be afraid of the system. In general, I will be much less reluctant to become involved in the political process."

The career educators found the speakers to be candid, knowledgeable, and helpful. Bruce Perlstein called the speakers "surprisingly candid and knowledgeable." Yormark declared, "As a group, they went farther in their candor than I had expected." And Mary Louis Klaus, Director, Guidance and Career Education, Raleigh County Schools, Beckley, West Virginia, said, "I found them very forthright, professional, and human!"

Participants generally liked the panel format, feeling it gave them a chance to question and interact with the speakers. Some wanted more time for questions, but others thought that the length of the program was just right or a bit too long. The only consistent "criticism" was the absence of a representative of the Judicial Branch as a speaker. The career educators had many questions about the role of the courts in educational policy and believed that the judicial process was a critical factor in educational policy-making.

John Shirley summed up the feelings of the participants in one general comment, "The overall experience was extremely meaningful. George Kaplan and Sam Halperin and the staff did a fantastic job in facilitating the process. I appreciated the relaxed environment and your purposeful action in not dominating the Seminar."

In a nutshell, the Seminar fulfilled its purpose as conceived by the Career Education Policy Project and the Institute for Educational Leadership. It provided the participants with an intensive exposure

to policy-making in Washington, and the participants returned to their jobs and careers saying they had a deeper understanding of policy-making and how they could have an influence on it.

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APPENDIX A

Career Education Policy Project

Project Profile

Basic Information

Title:	Career Education Policy Project
Organization:	Institute for Educational Leadership, The George Washington University
Director:	Dr. Samuel Halperin (Coordinator: George R. Kaplan), Director, Institute for Educational Leadership
Location:	Institute for Educational Leadership 1001 Connecticut Avenue, NW., Suite 310 Washington, DC 20036
Telephone:	202-833-1737/1738 (Halperin) 9051 (Kaplan)

Major Project Objectives

1. Illuminate the issues of education and work at the critical points at which public policies and major implementing decisions are made in our political and governmental institutions.

2. Examine career education in a way that will effectively inform both public and policy-level opinion of this feature of American education.

Project Activities

1. A series of carefully constructed one-hour radio programs covering the main issues of career education over our prize-winning National Public Radio series, "Options in Education."

2. Learning activities, especially seminars and field trips, designed to expand the knowledge of key national policy-makers and advisors of the content and potential of career education.

3. The extensive use of State policy-level forums catalyzed and monitored by IEL and the development of similar activities at the decision-making level in several large cities.

4. Week-long Washington seminars of key State and city officials who need to understand the institutions, personalities, and processes of administration, legislation, and representation affecting career education in the nation's capital.

Communication

Although the products of CEPP will include actual transcripts and cassettes of radio broadcasts, as well as published records of CEPP activities, the project is not a "product-producer" in the traditional sense. The real "product" is the extent to which effective communication is established between educator and policymaker. There will be broadcasts, field trips, seminars, and state and city meetings. Schedules are not yet available.

Demographic Information

This project is intended to reach political and educational policymakers with the message of career education. Its target groups transcend economic, ethnic or other such categories. Those whom the project should affect most include:

1. The audience of the 150-165 affiliated stations of the National Public Radio that will listen to the four (or more) programs on career education issues to be broadcast during the project year.

2. The senior Congressional aides and officials of the Executive Branch of the U.S. Government who will participate in field trips and other learning activities centered on career education.

3. The elected and appointed political and educational officials of the states and cities in which CEPP Associates will be located.

4. Participants in two week-long Washington seminars for decision-makers in educational policy matters.

SCHEDULE

APPENDIX B

WASHINGTON POLICY SEMINAR FOR CAREER EDUCATORS

Tuesday, January 13 through
Friday, January 16, 1976

TUESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1976

Before 6:00 p.m.	Participants from States arrive; check in at EXECUTIVE HOUSE, 1515 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., and receive introductory registration materials.	
6:00 p.m.	RECEPTION:	Commonwealth Parlor, Executive House
7:00 p.m.	DINNER MEETING:	"How Educational Policy Decisions Are Made in Washington - Institutions, Processes, Personalities and Problems"
	Place:	North Panel Room, Executive House
	Speaker: Michael Timpane	Senior Researcher, The Rand Corporation (former Deputy Assistant Secretary for Educational Planning, HEW)

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1976

Day at the Institute for Educational Leadership (IEL)

8:30 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.	PANEL DISCUSSION:	"The Current Educational Policy-making Scene"
	Place:	IEL Conference Room, Suite 310, 1001 Connecticut Ave., N.W. (enter on northeast corner of K Street, not Connecticut--between Drug Fair & Alitalia)
	Panelists:	
	Patsy Fleming	Research Assistant, Committee on Rules, U.S. House of Representatives
	Judith Miller	Washington Correspondent, Progressive Magazine
	Richard Smith	Attorney (formerly Associate Counsel, Senate Education Subcommittee)
10:45 a.m. to 12:15 p.m.	PANEL DISCUSSION:	"The Role of HEW and the White House in Educational Policy"
	Place:	IEL Conference Room

	Panelists:	
	Bernard Martin	Chief, Economics-Science-General Government Branch, OMB
	Richard Hastings	Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation (Education) HEW
	Phillip Austin	Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy Development, HEW
12:15 p.m. to 2:15 p.m,	LUNCHEON DISCUSSION:	"Recap: Map of Political Washington" with Samuel Halperin and George Kaplan
	PLACE:	IEL Conference Room
2:30 p.m. to 4:30 p.m.	PANEL DISCUSSION:	"The Policy Role of the Office of Career Education, USOE"
	Place:	IEL Conference Room
	Panelists:	
	Kenneth Hoyt	Director, Office of Career Education, USOE
	John Lindia	Deputy Director, OCE, USOE
	Sidney High	Director, Career Education Programs, OCE

* * * * * * * * FREE NIGHT * * * * * * * * * *

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1975

Morning at IEL; afternoon on Capitol Hill

8:30 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.	PANEL DISCUSSION:	"How USOE Makes and Implements Federal Educational Policy"
	Place:	IEL Conference Room
	Panelists:	
	Cora Beebe	Director, Budget Division, USOE
	Albert Alford	Assistant Commissioner for Legislation, USOE
10:45 a.m. to 12:00	PANEL DISCUSSION:	"Educational Policy-Making as Viewed by the Education and Work Task Force, National Institute of Education"
	Place:	IEL Conference Room
	Panelists:	
	Lois-ellin Datta	Assistant Director, Education and Work Group, National Institute of Education

	David Hampson	Chief, Career Exploration Division, Education and Work Group, NIE
	Ella Kelly	Acting Chief, Career Access Branch, Education and Work Group, NIE
12:45 p.m. to 2:15	LUNCHEON MEETING:	"The Congressional Appropriations Process"
	Place:	Room 2257 Rayburn Building Independence Ave. and South Capitol Street
	Speaker:	
	Harley Dirks	Professional Staff Member, Subcommittee on Labor, Health, Education and Welfare, Senate Appropriations Committee
2:30 p.m. to 3:45	PANEL DISCUSSION:	"Working with Capitol Hill: The Role of Congressional Staff and the Legislative Committees in Policy Formulation"
	Place:	Room 2257 Rayburn Building
	Panelists:	
	William Cable	Counsel, House Committee on Education and Labor
	Jack Duncan	Counsel, Subcommittee on Select Education, House Committee on Education and Labor
4:00 p.m. to 5:30	PANEL DISCUSSION:	"Educational Lobbying on the Hill"
	Place:	Room 2257 Rayburn Building
	Panelists:	
	Members of the Committee for Full Funding of Education Programs Steering Committee	
	Jerold Roschwalb	Director, Governmental Relations for Higher Education, National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges
	Gregory Humphrey	Co-director, Department of Legislation, American Federation of Teachers
	Michael Resnick	Director of Legislative Services, National School Board Association
6:30 p.m.	RECEPTION:	Chandelier Room, Sheraton-Carlton Hotel, 16th & K Streets, N.W.
7:00	DINNER MEETING:	"The U.S. Senate and the Current State of Education Policy-making"
	Place:	Chandelier Room, Sheraton-Carlton Hotel
	Speaker:	
	Honorable William D. Hathaway	U.S. Senator (D-Maine)

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16

Morning on Capitol Hill; afternoon at IEL

8:15 a.m. to 10:00	BREAKFAST MEETING:	"A Congressman Views the Federal Education Role"
	Place:	B-369 (Buffet Room) Rayburn Building Independence Avenue and South Capitol St.
	Speaker:	
	Honorable Timothy Wirth	U.S. House of Representatives (D-Colorado)
10:00 a.m. to 12:00	FREE TIME	(to visit your representatives on Capitol Hill)
12:00 to 2:30	LUNCHEON MEETING:	"The Political World of Education Associations, Their Roles, Their Constituencies, and Their Relationship to Policy"
	Place:	IEL Conference Room
	Panelists:	
	Patrick J. McDonough	Executive Director for Professional and Governmental Affairs, American Personnel and Guidance Association
	Dean Griffin	Associate Director, American Vocational Association
	Stanley McFarland	Director of Government Relations, National Education Association
2:30 p.m. to 4:30	PARTICIPANT OVERVIEW AND EVALUATION OF SEMINAR	

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APPENDIX C

PARTICIPANTS

WASHINGTON POLICY SEMINAR FOR CAREER EDUCATORS

January 13 - January 16, 1976

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Samuel Halperin, Director
Diane Brundage, Education Policy Fellow

Career Education Policy Project

George Kaplan, Coordinator
Sharon Grant, Program Assistant

EDUCATION POLICY FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM (EPFP) (formerly Washington Internships in Education) is a national program designed to help provide future leaders the skills in policy-making they must have to exert effective and enlightened leadership in American education. Funds for the program are provided by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.

Since 1965, the program has placed over 250 mid-career persons in one-year internships in public and private agencies involved in educational policy matters. Carefully recruited sponsors, who are themselves key actors in public policy issues, agree to serve as on-the-job mentors by demonstrating, through their daily tasks, how educational policy is shaped at the State or national level. An important ingredient of the program is the informal weekly seminars through which Fellows interact with decision-makers, eminent authorities and leading specialists in education-related fields. National meetings of Fellows with other special groups contribute further to their understanding of educational policy-making. Fellows' salaries are paid by the sponsoring organizations, while the costs of recruitment, placement and continuing professional development are borne by the EPF Program. Headquartered in Washington with sites in four States, the EPF Program is designed for mid-career persons 25-45 years of age who have completed their academic training. Two-thirds of the forty-five participants in 1975-76 have completed the doctorate degree; all have demonstrated substantial leadership skills and a strong commitment to improving the educational system.

Although EPFP participants are widely considered to be prime candidates for excellent post-Fellowship positions, the EPF Program does not commit itself to obtaining future employment for them. Fellows frequently take leaves of absence from their pre-Fellowship position to participate in the program.

Illinois Coordinator—Robert Bunnell
Massachusetts Coordinator—Ursula Wagener
Michigan Coordinators—Carl Candoli & Matthew Prophet

EDUCATIONAL STAFF SEMINAR (ESS) is a professional development program designed for staff members employed by the Executive and Legislative branches of the Federal Government in the field of education. The goals of ESS are to provide an open forum in which participants can improve their professional capabilities and personal fulfillment on the job by:

a) being exposed to new ideas and perspectives;
b) increasing their knowledge of particular subjects and their understanding of how things actually operate in the field; and
c) meeting with other professionals involved in the legislative and policy formulation processes in an informal learning environment which fosters improved professional relationships.

ESS supplements the Washington work experience with a variety of in-service training seminars and in-the-field observation. It was established in 1969 and is funded by the Institute and by partial reimbursement from the governmental agencies served.

In fiscal year 1975, ESS conducted 73 programs for over 2200 Federal employees. Included were 16 field trips and 57 luncheon/dinner discussion meetings, site visits, demonstrations, and other executive development activities.

THE ASSOCIATES PROGRAM (TAP) is an evolving IEL activity whose emphasis up to now has been the provision of seminars and other forums for legislators and other policy-makers at State capitals. Begun in 1972 with three State educational seminars, TAP now sponsors 21 seminars, all manned by Associates who, on a part-time basis, arrange 5-10 programs annually.

Other TAP efforts—

Maintain a network of State-level "generalists" (Associates) whose ties to IEL in the nation's capital provide rare linkages among Federal and State education policy-setters.

Encourage similar linkages among agencies and coalitions seeking to improve processes of State-level decision-making.

Support attempts of individual State leaders (governors, chief state school officers, legislative committees, etc.) to improve policy-making machinery and to narrow the communications gap which separates political and professional leaders.

OTHER IEL ACTIVITIES

Under a grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education, IEL has established an issue development service for consideration and transmission of key policy issues in postsecondary education. The **POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION CONVENING AUTHORITY (PECA)** sponsors conferences, research efforts, task force groups and publications focusing on such issues as institutional licensing, consumer protection, and State financing. During 1975-76 the program will add lifelong learning and public policy to its agenda.

IEL and National Public Radio co-produce the **"OPTIONS IN EDUCATION"** series, heard weekly over NPR's 179 member stations from coast to coast. Voice of America rebroadcasts the 1-hour programs, and IEL makes cassettes and transcripts available at minimum cost. In 1974 "Options" received awards from the Education Writers Association and the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education, Mason-Dixon Division. Funds for "Options in Education" are provided by IEL, National Institute of Education, U.S. Office of Education, Robert S. Clark Foundation, NPR, and other grantors.

Under contract from the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Education, HEW, IEL is planning major conference activity early in 1976 for educational decision-makers and administrators on the subject of institutional adjustment to changing sex roles. The goals of the **NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WOMEN IN EDUCATION,** which include increasing training and career options for women in education and facilitating Title IX implementation, will be pursued in cooperation with women's group leaders, policy-makers and the educational community generally.

The **CAREER EDUCATION POLICY PROJECT (CEPP)** addresses the issues of education, work and society. Funded by the U.S. Office of Education, CEPP uses the resources of other IEL programs—ESS, TAP, "Option"—to inform both policy-makers and the public of the issues in the career education movement.